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CONTENTS.—No. IX.

ART.	PAGE
I. PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION	1
1. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Revenues and Management of certain Colleges and Public Schools, &c. With Appendix and Evidence. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1864.	
2. Butler Burke at Eton. By Bracebridge Hemyng. London: John Maxwell & Co. 1855.	
3. The Public Schools Calendar. Rivingtons. 1865.	
II. THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA.—ORIGEN	43
Origenis Opera Omnia. Ed. De la Rue, accurante J. P. Migne. Paris.	
Origenes, Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre, von Dr. Redepenning (Origen: a History of His Life and Doctrine. By Dr. Redepenning). 1841. Bonn.	
III. THE CELTIC LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS	69
The College Irish Grammar. By the Rev. Ulick J. Bourke. Dublin: Mullany.	
The Gaelic Language: its Classical Affinities and Distinctive Character. A Lecture delivered in the University of Edinburgh. By Stuart Blackie, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas.	
IV. MADAME RÉCAMIER AND HER FRIENDS	88
Souvenirs et Correspondance tirés des Papiers de Madame Récamier. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1859.	
V. ROME, UNIONISM, AND INDIFFERENTISM.....	121
L'Encyclique et les Evêques de France. Paris: Dentu.	
A Letter on the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. By Right Rev. Bishop Ullathorne. London: Richardson.	
Experiences of a 'Vert. Reprinted from the <i>Union Review</i> for the Editor. London: Hayes.	
Christendom's Divisions. By Edmund S. Ffoulkes. London: Longman.	
Theology of the Nineteenth Century (<i>Fraser's Magazine</i> for Feb., 1865). By the Dean of Westminster. London: Longman.	
VI. PROPOSED MANUAL OF ENGLISH HISTORY	173
1. Abridgment of the History of England. By J. Langard, D.D. With continuation from 1688 to the Reign of Queen Victoria. Adapted for the use of schools by James Burke, Esq., A.B. London: C. Dolman. 1855.	
2. A Manual of British and Irish History. By the Rev. Thomas Flanagan. London: Richardson & Son. Second thousand. 1852.	
3. A History of England for Family Use and the Upper Classes of Schools. By the Author of "The Knights of St. John," &c. London: Burns & Lambert. 1864.	

ART.	PAGE
VII. DOCTOR PUSEY'S LECTURES ON DANIEL	189
1. Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, with copious Notes. By E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford : Parker. 1864.	
2. The inspiration of the Book of Daniel and other portions of Holy Scripture, with a correction of profane and an adjustment of sacred chronology. By W. R. A. Boyle, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister. London : Rurston. 1863.	
3. Fulfilled Prophecy a proof of the truth of Revealed Religion. Being the Warburtonian Lectures of 1854—1858, with an Appendix of Notes, including a full investigation of Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. By the Very Rev. W. Goode, D.D., Dean of Ripon. London : Hatchard. 1863.	
VIII. THE MEXICAN EMPIRE AND THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION 206	
Le Mexique Ancien et Moderne. Par Michel Chevalier, Membre de l'Institut. Paris : Hachette.	
La Politique Française en Amérique. Par M. Henri Moreau. Paris : Dentu.	
L'Expédition du Mexique. Par Le Prince Henri de Valori. Paris : Dentu.	
L'Empire Mexicain et Son Avenir. Paris : Dentu.	
Speeches and Addresses on British American Union. By the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture in the Canadian Government. London : Chapman & Hall.	
Parliamentary Debates on the subject of Confederation. Printed by order of the Legislature. Quebec : Hunter, Rose, & Co.	
Papers relating to the Conferences between H. M. Government and the Executive Council of Canada. By Command. London : Spottiswoode.	
IX. FOREIGN EVENTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST	227
X. NOTICES OF BOOKS.....	256
Canon Morris's Last Illness of Cardinal Wiseman—The Bishop of Clifton's Remarks on the Encyclical—Mgr. Parisis sur les Libertés Publiques—The Bishop of Aguila's Discours sur la Nature du Mal actuel—Dr. Murray's Tractatus de Ecclesiâ Christi—F. Harper's Claims of the Anglican Establishment to be the Representative of the Primitive Church—Mr. Oxenham's Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement—The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude, Virgin and Abbess of the Order of S. Benedict—Vie de Madame Geoffroy, Religieuse du Sacré Cœur, décédée à Lyon en Odeur de Sainteté—Cardinal Wiseman's William Shakespeare—S. Martha's Home ; or, Work for Women—The Month—A May Pageant, and other Poems—Quarante Vérités dites à la Cour de Turin—Bishop Dupanloup's Remarks on the Encyclical—God and His Creatures—Catechism made Easy.	

CONTENTS.—No. X.

ART.	PAGE
<p>I. THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">1. Erreurs et Mensonges Historiques. Par M. Ch. Barthélemy, Membre de l'Académie de la Religion Catholique de Rome. Paris: Ch. Blériot. 1863.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">2. Le Correspondant. 1843. La Saint-Barthélemy et le XVIII^e Siècle.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">3. Revue des deux Mondes. 1845. Monographies Politiques: Henri IV.</p>	<p>281</p>
<p>II. MR. OXENHAM AND THE "DUBLIN REVIEW"</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement: an Historical Inquiry into its Development. With an Introduction on the Principle of Theological Developments. By Henry Nutcombe Oxenham, M.A. London: Longman.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Letter addressed to the <i>Tablet</i> of July 15, 1865. By Henry Nutcombe Oxenham.</p>	<p>319</p>
<p>III. CATHOLICISM IN GENEVA</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Histoire de M. Vuarin et du Rétablissement du Catholicisme à Genève. Par M. l'Abbé F. Martin, Missionnaire Apostolique, Chanoine Honoraire de Belley, et M. l'Abbé Fleury, Aumônier de Carouge. 2 vols. Paris: Tolra & Haton. 1862.</p>	<p>352</p>
<p>IV. DOCTRINAL DECREES OF A PONTIFICAL CONGREGATION.—THE CASE OF GALILEO</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Tractatus de Curiâ Romanâ. Auctore D. Bouix. Paris: Lecoffre.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Galileo and the Inquisition. By Richard Robert Madden. London: Burns & Co.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Galileo and his Condemnation (<i>Rambler</i> for January, 1852). London: Burns & Co.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Notes on the Anti-Galilean Copernicans. By Professor De Morgan (<i>Companion to the Almanac</i> for 1855).</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Motion of the Earth. Article in the <i>Penny Cyclopædia</i>, attributed to Professor De Morgan.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Histoire d'Urbain VIII. (Histoire des Souverains Pontifes, tom. v.). Par M. le Chevalier Artaud de Montor. Paris: Lecoffre.</p>	<p>376</p>

ART.	PAGE
V. THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM.....	425
The Formation of Christendom. Part First. By T. W. Allies. London: Longmans.	
VI. THE IRISH LAND QUESTION	453
Report.—Tenure and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Act. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 23 June, 1865.	
VII. CALDERWOOD AND MILL UPON HAMILTON	474
Philosophy of the Infinite. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. By the Rev. Henry Calderwood. Macmillan & Co., Cambridge and London 1861.	
An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, and of the principal Philosophical Questions discussed in his Writings. By John Stuart Mill. London: Longman & Co. 1865.	
VIII. FOREIGN EVENTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.....	505
IX. FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.....	517
Liberty of Conscience—Spiritism in the Modern World.	
X. NOTICES OF BOOKS.....	533
Archbishop Manning's Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost—The Union Review—The Literary Workman—Canon Oakeley's <i>Lyra Liturgica</i> —Des Mousseaux's <i>les Médiateurs et les Moyens de la Magie</i> — <i>Fraser's Magazine</i> on English Ultramontaniam—F. Strickland's Catholic Missions in India—Gilbert and Churchill's Dolomite Mountains—Lecky's Influence of Rationalism—The Spirit of the Curé d'Ars.	
XI. APPENDIX TO THE JULY ARTICLE ON PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION.....	568

THE
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JULY, 1865.

ART. I.—PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION.

1. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Revenues and Management of certain Colleges and Public Schools, &c.* With Appendix and Evidence. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1864.
2. *Butler Burke at Eton.* By BRACEBRIDGE HEMYNG. London: John Maxwell & Co. 1865.
3. *The Public School Calendar.* Rivingtons. 1865.

THE question of public school education is not merely a question of immense interest, but of immediate importance. It is a question which sinks deep to the root of England's nationality, and spreads itself abroad like a net-work of nerves through her political life. Directly or indirectly—from the turrets of Windsor to the back-slums of Westminster, from the peer to the peasant, from Belgravia to Billingsgate—from the highest to the lowest—in a word, wherever English blood is to be found, there does the action make itself felt of that great propelling power in the nation—its system of public schools. It is a question which has to do with Law, and Physic, and Divinity; that stretches itself out to sea wherever our “wooden walls” can spread their sails, or our iron fortresses move like magic through the waters, and that throbs in every British vein on board, from the most reckless and impudent midddy to the admiral of the fleet: it is a question which runs down our rank and file like a word of command, having an intimate connection with the stern, stubborn, dogged hardihood of the British soldier; it is a question which affects us in politics, in morals, in religion; and not only strikes down to the root of the character of the man, but is most intimately blended with the genius of the race.

The Royal Commissioners have been intrusted with a delicate, an arduous and responsible task. They have had to approach the

VOL. V.—NO. IX. [*New Series.*]

secret workshops of the country. They have had to lift up the lids, and look into that complicated, and mysterious, and delicate machinery, which has been the growth of years, which has seen many changes, which has worked itself down by a gradual gravitation of parts to its present position, and which is ever turning out of its hard, rough moulds a material upon which it has stamped its indelible impression—rough if you like, yet decided, unmistakable, and special—a character which (humanly) will never be effaced. Blood and brain have been touched with a tincture which will cling to them beyond the grave.

But the Royal Commissioners have not simply lifted up the lids; they would put the machinery in better order. They would meddle with the works. A mere *dilettante* inspection—as one enjoys watching bees in a hive of glass—would have been a very pleasant and a very innocent amusement. To have to teach them a better way to do their work, would be quite another thing. Bees, proverbially, would rather not be pulled about. They have a weakness for their own way, and think that they know their own business best. And we are apt to think so too. Nor is a hive of bees an exceptional case. A hive of men and boys would feel the same, though their method of expression might be slightly different. Dr. Moberly, Mr. Balston, Dr. Temple, and Mr. Butler, probably, would be tempted to imagine that they knew more about boys and the most effectual way to manage them, than would George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon, William Reginald, Earl of Devon, or even Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Baronet. The assistant-masters, too, might secretly opine that those who had passed their best days in the drudgery of a schoolmaster's profession might, after all, know their own work best; and even the mathematical masters and masters of "modern languages," if they thought it becoming to hold any idea at all upon the point, might allow it to flit furtively before their minds, that—though some reforms were imperatively necessary, still it were well that the reformers should fully understand their work.

The Commissioners themselves do not appear to have been destitute of a similar feeling. They knew that the task they had in hand was one of immense delicacy and difficulty. That one single blunder, one clumsy movement, might shake things into a complication of confusion. They seem fully to have felt that, after all, their work was rather to suggest changes than to make them, rather to inquire than to command, rather to elicit information than to give it. Even the very bill introduced into the Upper House for school reform has been styled

"a complicated piece of machinery for doing nothing." Throughout, the Commissioners have shown their wisdom in not being too wise, and in contenting themselves with the laborious and praiseworthy task of collecting *data* to lay before the public, that they may form a judgment for themselves upon a subject of such vital national interest as that of public education.

The result of their labours has been some time before the public. The fourfold Blue-book of the Commissioners is hardly dry reading. Indeed, in many parts it is most interesting and amusing, and in every part instructive. The Commissioners, whatever else may be said of them, cannot be said to have dealt negligently with their work. They drew everything to the surface which could be secured by a drastic method of cross-examination, an ingenious form of tables, and a close and careful personal inspection. "They issued questions in tabular forms," said Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, "to authorities of schools and professors and tutors of colleges, they personally visited the schools, examined 130 witnesses, held 127 meetings, and produced four Blue-books." *

As far as the true state of the case can be ascertained, we have got at it. The public cannot expect to know more. But at the same time we should not allow ourselves to be deluded by the idea that we know *all*. From the nature of the case, much must be hidden from us. Much could not be brought to light. Many things, which we know must have taken place, are not so much as hinted at—many that intimately affect the moral condition of the public schools.† Still, we have quite sufficient data of a valuable kind to form a judgment from, and can determine, according to our own standard, the merits and demerits of the present system of public school education. Our minor we can always find in one or other of the big Blue-books; we shall not have far to go for our major and conclusion.

But the Commissioners have done even more than supply us with data. They have not only laid before us the actual condition, in as far as they have been able to elicit it, of the great schools of the kingdom; they have, besides, pointed out in their Report defective places in the working of the machine, and printed suggestions for improvement,—“the result of long and careful inquiry, and of much anxious

* *Times*' Report, April 3, 1865.

† "Chastity is one of the *dead* virtues."—*Saturday Review*, April 22, 1865, p. 482.

discussion.”* Taking the principles for granted upon which the Commissioners started, the majority of their recommendations are sensible and unassuming. They seem, in great measure, founded upon that grand principle before expressed, of leaving things pretty much as they were. The Commissioners started with the idea of making as little noise as possible, and they have on the whole been very true to their guiding resolution. We speak more particularly of changes affecting the studies and the arrangement of students. As to their opinions upon endowments, revenues, and funds,—as to whether they have been misapplied to afford good cheer to a snug family party, instead of carrying out the intents of testators,—these are simple questions of *meum* and *tuum*, which would hardly require a Commission’s decision. However it may be, as long as funds exist, and in the main are properly applied, the public will not force its way into the administration with an over-curious eye. What they look to is, a fair equivalent for their money in the education and formation of their sons.

Added to the corrections which have been suggested by the Commission, we have the voice of public opinion as expressed in Parliament, and by the press. The Report and its merits and demerits have been long enough before the public—the question has now sufficiently been mooted and ventilated by the common voice for us to understand, at least, what the general feeling is. Most unmistakably, and in many places most strongly, has this general sense been put into words. Were the question one of simply local interest, the country would not have been roused to speak. Small, contracted views live and die, and nobody is a bit the better or the worse for them. They live unnoticed, so they die unknown. But in a question which affects, as we have said, the *status* of the country, and has to do with its very blood and bone, its backward or its forward movement, perhaps even its very pocket,—the country shakes off its drowsiness and lethargy, and sets about in good earnest speaking loudly and lustily its mind.

That it has spoken clearly and articulately, through its various organs, it would be absurd to attempt to prove. If we do not know what it does want, and what it does not want, now, we stand a very good chance of never knowing. There are, indeed, some points upon which there is a very healthy variety of opinion; but, on the other hand, there are others upon which there appears to be a complete consent. And

* Lord Clarendon.—Speech in the House of Lords.

they are the very fundamental, the cardinal points of public school education.

1. All appear agreed that "our public schools were not keeping pace with the age."* 2. That nothing should, upon any consideration, be allowed "to interfere, in any respect, with the great feature of our public school system—the system of government and of discipline, resulting in that manliness, that self-reliance and independence of character, that love of freedom combined with respect for authority, which give to our public schools in England so large a share in moulding the character of an English gentleman."† It is very evident from these words that "the system of government and discipline" at the public schools is considered a subject of pride and self-congratulation, as the most perfect instrument for turning out the "perfect English gentleman," the *beau-ideal* in this island of human perfection. Evidently there is nothing here which is "not keeping pace with the age." Where, then, is the flaw? Lord Clarendon points it out with cruel clearness. Speaking of an average young Englishman—the specimen of the schoolboy class, aged nineteen—he says, though he "has learnt to be manly and self-reliant, and has been imbued with the character of an English gentleman," still, he "is unable to construe an easy sentence from the Latin or the Greek, is unacquainted with the literature of his own country, knows no modern language besides his own, is scarcely able to write that correctly, and knows nothing of physical laws;" and all this, "after having passed the best years of his life in learning." His lordship then proceeds to console the Upper House by telling them that "there are great and brilliant exceptions to this." If this picture, painted by one so well experienced, be true to life, we need look no further in search of causes which led to the appointment of the Commission, nor be at all surprised that the country had begun to feel nervous and uneasy about the rising generation. Lord Houghton hinted the feelings of the upper classes when he declared that the public school question was "not only a question of the moral and intellectual character of the higher classes in the country, but a question of political supremacy." He was of opinion that, unless great reforms were made in the public school system, "wealth, property, and rank" would not long hold their own. The school rears up men "accomplished, honest, refined, and proud of their word;"

* Sir G. C. Lewis's remark adopted by the Commission, as expressing the sense of the country.

† Lord Clarendon.—Speech, House of Lords, April 3, 1865.

but, besides that, "they should be capable of grappling with all the intellectual questions that can rise in connexion with the political life of the country." The Bishop of London, representing, we suppose, the ecclesiastical and religious interests of the country, thus spoke of the great public school of Eton:—"As the education imparted at Eton is," he said in the House of Lords, "so, in a great degree, will the education of the country be. The universities themselves will be affected by the condition of the school. No one can consider its traditions, its noble buildings, the list of great names which it has produced, without honouring the place, and understanding the desire of the parents of the country to enrol their sons among its members." Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, speaking of the same school, said:—"That royal institution has through many ages set an example to the whole country; it might at the same time justly claim the praise attributed to it by the Commissioners,—the formation, in a great degree, of the English character; it no doubt also exerts a favourable influence upon similar and less distinguished places of education throughout the country."

The Commissioners themselves are unanimous in their approval of the system of the public schools for the formation of character. "On the general results of public school education," they say, "as an instrument for the training of the character, we can speak with much confidence."*

Now, from these extracts two results are to be gathered. (1) That the country at large fully approves of the present system adopted at our great public schools for forming the character of the man; and that it appears to feel that it would be the greatest calamity to upset a method which is carrying out its end with such eminent success. And (2) that Eton is universally admitted as the most pure and perfect exponent of the genuine unadulterated English system. It may not be so successful as other schools in imparting knowledge, but it has certainly carried off the palm for turning out of hand with the greatest finish, the "manly, self-reliant, independent English gentleman," with whom Lord Clarendon has so tender a sympathy. According to the English idea, Rugby, perhaps, might answer best to the question, what does he *know*? But Eton, as yet, can give the most satisfactory answer to the far more important question,—What *is* he? "Public schools," says the *Times*, "hang together and exert a mutual influence, but Eton, confessedly, is the centre . . . it rises and falls with the prosperity of the country."

* First Part, General Report, p. 44.

Now it is to this question—What *is* he? that we are about to address ourselves. Yes:—What *is* he? What *is* he not? How did he become what he is? Why should he be what he is? Why does he place himself so high? What *is* he worth? What does the public school training do for him? What *is* his character? Is it something so great that no character could be formed on a more perfect type? Is his training the ideal of how to mould a perfect man? Is the public school system something so unique, such a grand national institution, that Englishmen should kneel down and adore themselves on account of their own “greatness” and their own “glory”? Should they look upon it in the light of a great national benediction, a halo of glory round their heads, and thank God that they are not like the rest of men? Or, should they in utter shame hide their faces in their hands, and weep hot tears that they have sunk so low,—that they have been adoring their own flesh, and making ugly idols of themselves—idols fashioned into shape with hands of clay—mistaking the light of man for the light of God, the cunning of the animal for the wisdom of the Creator, the hard, tough determination of human pride grafted on a wiry stock, for some high and godly virtue and the supernatural power of the Spirit? that they have, all the time, been glorying in a shadow—mistaking the faint dwindling, unstable shadow of the creative hand, mutilated by sin, for the works of supernatural love, and the effulgence of the saints?

A great national institution like that which we are contemplating should hold some distinct position in our minds. We ought to know what we think, and what we ought to think upon such important questions. We should distinctly make up our minds one way or other upon the relation that the public school system has to Catholic faith, Catholic morality, Catholic standards. We should strive to grasp the character which that system boasts it forms. We ought to study it, analyse it, turn it inside out, look at it in every light, and put down in our minds what it is worth, according to a Catholic valuation. We should study its springs of action, its powers for evil or for good, its temper respecting true religion and Catholic faith, and how it stands with the supernatural, and with the Church. We should not suffer ourselves—it would be wrong—to live in a haze and pass through life in ignorance of the nature and operations of the huge powers of the world that are heaving around us—ever working in ceaseless toil, in endless unrest, in their fearful vocations. We should make up our minds to study and understand that which is not only, as it were, the salt in the great sea of life ebbing and flowing in our enormous cities; which is not only the

colouring matter in the lives of those who in leisure and in luxury live in suburban villas, or dwell down far in the distant country amidst ancestral acres; which not only is muscle to the soldier, and endurance, perseverance to the lawyer, coolness and nerve to the surgeon, and respectability to the English minister, but which comes home to and shakes with its awful force and subtle influence the intellectual foundation of even Catholic men.

In days like these it does not do to sleep through the danger, and hope that it will pass over our unconscious heads—we must face it, study it, understand it, take our side, grapple with it, —and fight manfully for the right. Could there possibly be conceived a question of more vital interest and importance to a Catholic man than the one before us? Besides, is it safe without chart or compass to drift out to sea—to be whirled away by any current, to be borne off by any wind that may come across us—and be wafted away upon alien shores? Can we hold our own, not knowing what is our own, or is not our own, without knowing where we are, who has hold of us, in what direction we are being carried, and who holds out the lights?

If we have any interest in ourselves, in our future, in our position in times to come, we should thoroughly sift the question of public schools, and the nature of the English character which it is their principal object to develop. There is something to an Englishman so captivating to the intellect, and fascinating to the heart, in the picture that he paints of his “ideal knight”—in fact, to cut the matter short—of *himself*, that it is high time to understand what that is which he so much admires.

We must admit, then, that Englishmen think themselves, without exception, the finest people in the world. They are half angry, and quite astonished, if the expression of their opinion on that point be called in question. It is one of their grand starting-points that they are the pattern men. They are for ever talking of their courage, their boldness, their daring, their nerve, their “pluck,” their “bottom,” their stubborn, unflinching, dogged perseverance. They expand in body, if not in mind—their undemonstrative natures become expressive, as they dilate upon their honesty of purpose, their uprightness of character, their natural veracity, their going straight to the mark, their tough endurance, their high and honourable and open-handed bearing; their honest pride, which spurns with contempt the merest shadow of anything base, or mean, or shabby: all this they dote upon as the most perfect idea of the spirit which should animate “the human

form divine." And in proportion as they extol the especial character which they attribute to themselves, do they look down, from the eminence of their own perfections, upon what they conceive to be the miserable short-comings of other national characters. They smile with contempt at the frivolous French; they laugh out-right, with great self-satisfaction, at the "swag-bellied Hollander;" they say the Russians are dirty; the Germans only smoke, and drink beer, and live in the abstract; the Belgians are cowards, and the Italians are rogues; the Scotch are "canny" and grasping, the Welsh essentially obstinate, and the Irish, it is patronizingly said, have not the faculty of telling the truth. But to discover in the full, in all its expansiveness, what the Englishman thinks of himself, we should follow him abroad. There, the whole thing comes out in its fullest perfection. There the shackles of decency and propriety seem no longer to bind him, and he can exaggerate his ideal without let or hindrance. His pride, his haughtiness, his want of common civility, his self-conceit, his bold front, the persuasion he has that "he is not like the rest of men," displays itself at every turn. He looks down upon all foreigners in general, not so much as another race of men, but rather as inferior animals; and his whole conduct is in harmony with this general view. He is hated, and is an astonishment wherever he goes. The name of the English tourist is a name of reproach wherever Englishmen have poured themselves out on the continent of Europe—and he duly plumes himself upon it. Wherever any absurd undertaking is set on foot, any dare-devil scheme, an Englishman is sure to be at the bottom of it. If any foreigner has climbed at the peril of his neck some perpendicular rock, and with triumph has carved his name upon it, an Englishman is sure to follow him, and carve his own above it. If any one has ventured up some unexplored mountain, or trusted himself without a guide, where others could hardly dare to venture with one—it is certain to be an Englishman. Whatever requires muscle, and courage, and risk, and daring, wherever life is to be imperilled—not for some great end, but simply "because no other fellow will dare to do it," your unmistakable Englishman, with his light hair, his narrow chin, his affected tincture of the foreigner, and his thoroughly English complexion, is sure to present himself. He can swim, he can drive, he can row, he can ride, shoot, fish, run, starve, gorge, play,—he can *fight*. He is ready for a "come on" with any man, on the broad British principle, which he has thrown into the phrase of, "one down, and another come on." He is his own centre; he defends himself with his own strong arm; he is

always in the right, and everybody else is always in the wrong :
his great badge is, he can never be beat. His

the unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit and yield,
And what is else, not to be overcome.*

For, if he be lying prostrate on the earth, it is merely to get up and go at it again ; he may be physically overcome, but there is no man who can subjugate his spirit. He is so far enamoured of his ideal character, that it is supremely best, takes so prominent a place amidst the primary convictions of his intelligence, that he instinctively admires whatever appears to bear ever so remote a reflexion of it. His real heroes in romance are all Englishmen ; all his pattern kings in history are thorough English blood and bone. They may be cruel, heartless, immoral, tyrants, selfish, proud—but, no matter, if they possess the one fundamental substratum of the English character, if they are brave and plucky, domineering and indomitable, they will do for him. Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell—the golden vein of the English character ran through their beings, and they thereupon are put upon a pedestal in the temple of fame for adoration. The blackness itself of crime receives an illumination from the nerve, energy, and unbeaten pluck of the felon. The very crowds which assemble under the drop, to watch and drink in the throes which shoot and shiver through the convulsed body of a suspended wretch—if he walk to the scaffold with a calm, unmoved, determined self-possession, if he require no assistance from any man, but “with manliness, self-reliance, and independence,” to use the words of Lord Clarendon, swing, of himself, into his eternity—at once recognize the effulgence of that quality which every Briton, however low or base, prizes as he does the very currents of his life, and go off perfectly satisfied, cursing and swearing amongst themselves that “he would not be beat,” and that “he died game in spite of them all !”† We need not call to the reader’s mind how the blood of this great nation was stirred to its lowest depth, and how its circulation quickened on the day when John Heenan and Tom Sayers stood over against one another to determine which should prove himself most fully possessed of that one absorbing quality which Englishmen love and prize beyond anything that can be compared with

* Milton, “Paradise Lost,” Book i.

† “Antagonism alone,” says the *Times*, April 10, 1865, “will call out in perfection that truly English virtue without which no man is fitted to hold a lead among his fellows.”

it. Were there space this fundamental form of our present national character might be still more fully developed. We might show and illustrate its bearing on the various relations of life, moral, political, military, social, religious. We might demonstrate how it affects science, literature, and art; how it mixes itself with our views of religion, gives a special bias to our taste, and is not without its influence in the boudoir and the dressing-room; how like an aroma it penetrates and interpenetrates every modification and minute pulsation of life, and influences men's appreciation of the good, the beautiful, and the true. But to do all this would take more than an entire article, and be beside our present purpose.

That a principle dressed out in such variegated costume should not at first sight be detected as the same, is not much to be wondered at:—

Her robe with every motion changing hue,
Flows down in plenteous foldings, and conceals
Her secret footsteps from the eyes of men.*

Yet that the description of its all-pervading influence is not a mere flight of imagination, but the expression of a philosophic truth, will be apparent, we believe, to anybody who has taken the trouble to study the nature of the "*composto umano*" and its relations to objects of knowledge and desire. He would at once see that though the object is apprehended by the mind, still the mind itself is capable of giving a colouring to the object, according to its habits, its likes and mis-likes, its prejudices and its bias—according to its own peculiar character, and that in consequence, though he may be grasping truth, still he will see it, according to the spectacles he wears, in this light or in that: we mean, that he will distort the object in proportion to the distortion of his mind, just as a man looking through coloured glasses sees everything he looks upon partaking of their tint.

Education has two things, at least, to do: to impart truth, and to fit the subject for its reception. To fail in the latter is to convert the former into poison—a man whose character has been formed in a false mould, will view truth in a false light.

The Royal Commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the *Times*, the *vox populi*,—all concur in one great harmony—all join in one united voice of praise, in loud pæans, on the success of the public schools in forming character. We have ventured to give a rough sketch, the bold

* Dodsley's "Agriculture," Canto i.

outline of the English character. Details can be filled up by the reader. If we have succeeded in bringing out the salient point, we shall have answered our present wants. What we mean is graphically summed up by the Chartist tailor in "Alton Locke," who breaks out, in spite of himself, on seeing a Cambridge boat-race, in expressions which thoroughly clinch all we meant to say:—"The true English stuff came out there," he exclaims; "I felt that, in spite of all my prejudices—the stuff which held Gibraltar and conquered at Waterloo, which has created a Birmingham and a Manchester, and colonized every quarter of the globe,—that grim, earnest, stubborn energy which, since the days of the old Romans, the English possess alone of all the nations of the earth."

Now it is this "true English stuff," this "grim, earnest, stubborn energy," which forms the back-bone of the English character. But Eton is the place of places where the English character to its fullest and purest perfection is developed. Therefore it is to Eton you must go, if you would see how this "true English stuff," this raw material, is manipulated into the model man. There you must go, if you really want the "genuine, unadulterated article." There is to be found a vast and complicated organism for carrying out one solitary purpose—the developing and yet refining—still, not more than the material will bear—the bulldog part of the Englishman, and sublimating the physical courage of the animal, with his pluck, energy, and endurance, into what is called "a gentleman," with a certain code of honour, a certain conventional bearing, and a given quantum of information. "This is what a boy goes to Eton for," says the *Times*, "and he gets it . . . He gets good manners; he gets a good tone. He acquires the great moral truth or rule of life, that the worst heresy or infidelity a man can be guilty of is to do a shabby thing. In fact, he grows into the gentle cast, and is initiated into the freemasonry of honour, and mutual regard which really governs the empire. It is this that makes the public schools. If they learn a whole Encyclopædia of arts, sciences, and languages, it would be only so much added to the real thing."*

But before we proceed to show how the Eton system in so marvellous a manner carries out the aspirations of the English nation in the formation of the character of the rising generation, it will be well to seek and understand the cause which creates such an enthusiastic admiration of it. For, surely, it cannot be put down as a law of nature or of humanity that there is absolutely nothing which can compare with "pluck"

* *Times*, April 3, 1865.

or bull-dogism. So very greedy a taste for that peculiar "mode" of the human compound must, at least partly, have been acquired; and as it is not without its influence, as we have already hinted, on every apprehension of knowledge and volition of the will, as it enters into the passions and desires of the breast, being, as it were, the very badge and token of an Englishman, it would not be amiss, before we venture further, to show how the English character has come to be what it is.

And in doing this we must crave the reader's patience. We must begin *ab ovo*; we must go back some good three hundred years; we must take a steady gaze at the results upon the English character of their great transgression, of their breaking off from the unity of Christendom and sinking into themselves. The nation with its own hand severed the cord of its supernatural life, and collapsed into the hands of fallen nature. From that day, as was inevitable, men sunk deeper and deeper into the darkness of themselves, and more and more out of the light of God. The whole nation drifted off bodily from the One, the Beautiful, and the True; and wafting into the obscurity and vapour of mere human prudence and worldly wisdom, blinded by the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, it could no longer appreciate, or even clearly see, any other law, ordinance, obligation, any pattern of beauty, glory, perfection, any model of virtue, heroism, magnanimity, generosity, purity, or nobleness, save that which sprung up out of fallen humanity, and presented itself carnal before carnal eyes. "Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. For, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."* That is to say, they threw over the wisdom of God, and centered themselves in the wisdom of this world. The very fact of abandoning the Church was equivalent to taking their portion with the unregenerate man. It was one huge and complete rejection of the supernatural; a repudiation of God's light, of heavenly principles, of godly balances, of genuine justification, of anything like veritable righteousness; it was an overthrow of the kingdom of God, and the Titans were victorious; it was a negation of dogma, of the indwelling Spirit, of an infallible guide, of a heavenly measure of morality, of Pauline faith, of sacramental grace, of the whole mechanism and economy of salvation; it was a rejection of God Himself; or, at best, making Him to be what He was not,—a law of

* Rom. i. 21, 22.

nature, a primary cause, an *anima mundi*, the major of a syllogism, a mere generality; tying His hands (if we may dare to say it), that He should not interfere; He became a limited monarch, a puppet of the people, placed upon a throne indeed, and with "a purple garment" and a sceptre, and a crown perchance, but without power to command or to forbid, to punish or reward, to take any active part in the affairs of men; in the strong words of inspiration, "They made a mockery of Him."

We are far from meaning to imply that they did so in as many words, or that (in the general acceptance of the term) they *meant* to do so. Their design was to break away and clear off from the Church. That is what they aimed at; their eyes were on the mark, and when a man keeps fixed eyes upon the point he means to hit, he sees but little else. They may not have clearly seen what they were doing; but that is no reason why they did not do it, indeed rather the reverse; had they fully known what they were about, who would venture to say that they would have done the work they did? No; they would never have admitted upon paper that they had rejected the promises. But they did so by their acts. They might have had their eyes fixed above as they were sinking down, and still not have observed when they ceased to see things in God's light, and when they began to see them in their own. They have indeed retained the shell, the words, but not the traditions of the past. Their very ordinance is cold and lifeless; their very prayers emasculated of the fulness of a supernatural sense; words which once expressed the spirit of a heavenly dispensation became little more than "a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

In abandoning the only dispensation which could fill men with the light of a supernatural life and attune their hearts to the chords of a heavenly morality, they severed themselves from the only power which could raise humanity above itself. But to make our meaning still more clear:—

There are on earth two huge, antagonistic powers, with opposed ends, principles, motives, and objects. They are both colossal in their proportions, and wide-spread over the earth. They number under their opposing banners millions of men, and penetrate "*usque ad divisionem animæ et spiritus*," and breathe the breath of their lives into the soul. We mean—the Church, and the world. The only means to escape being absorbed into the latter and living its life, breathing its breath, partaking of its character, is by living in the life of the former, breathing its breath, and partaking of its character. The rejection, the negation of the one, is a falling

a prey to the other. The world is too powerful, too encompassing, too constraining, too clever a sorceress to be successfully opposed by any power of human creation. It must be a heavenly inspiration which can withstand the withering, the corrupting influence of that poisonous monster whose very breath is pestilence, and whose very life is destruction :—

How should I avoid to be her slave
Whose subtle art invisibly can wreath
My fetters of the very air I breathe !*

So that when the nation threw off the Church, and destroyed the supernatural element of life, it became helpless as a child to withstand, even had it had a mind to do so, the fetid breath which was filling the earth. What was the result of this rejection of the Church? The only one that could have been expected. It was not that a majority of our countrymen became worldly, the majority have ever been so; it was not that men now commenced to act upon human motives, and allowed themselves to be guided by a policy of earthly expediency; for such, in a measure, has ever been the case; it was not that, at this juncture, the visible was, all at once, preferred in practice by numbers of the race; for, alas! so it has ever been; but it was this:—that worldly principles were adopted and became the acknowledged *Regula vite*, they were raised up into a clear, definite, precise, and perfectly intelligible norma of life, not admitted as before on sufferance, but received with applause, not brought in with an apology and as the best under the circumstances, but absolutely—without condition or reserve—not as one of two, but as the only true and sensible guide of an honest, straightforward, unaffected, free-born Englishman for elbowing his way through the world.

And this to a thinking man, though most lamentable, most deplorable, is in no wise strange. The strangeness would have been in the reverse. For man cannot live in chaos. His mind, whatever it abandons, must seek unity and symmetry, and order and law; it cannot exist for any time in a chronic state of anarchy; if it does not find order it will set about creating it, and will, according to its instincts, be ever striving to reduce the multiplicity of phenomena under their general laws. Now the whole scheme and economy of the supernatural was thrown to the winds in the rejection of the Church. Hence, what else could man do, save seize upon the confusion of worldliness before him, and reduce it to

* Andrew Marvel.

order, and system, to a *norma operandi et credendi*? He could not live without law; he had abandoned the supernatural; the natural alone remained.

Having thrown off the government of the supernatural, he took the reins into his own hands and created a law for himself; hence that boasted English phrase, which cannot be translated,—*self-government*. Hence, the illuminated conscience gave way to the rule of expediency, or propriety. Hence, the aggregate of the national sense—like a miasma exhaling from the earth—became the measure of right and of wrong. Men do not remember that it is merely their own shadow which is jibbering before them, and that the very same movement which they fancy is fashioning them into its shape, is in reality shapening it into their fashion. They do not remember that the one is simply the mimic of the other, merely an external expression of the sense of fallen humanity, finding a unity and an utterance in symbols or in sounds. But, because it stares them in the face with a magnified power, they straightway declare it to be some objective reality or truth, showing evident tokens of a heavenly design, as it answers with such marvellous exactness to the carnal cravings and desires of an uncircumcised heart.

Their judgments fond
Do faine in God what in themselves they finde,
And by their weakness, judge the power of powers.*

What follows from this? Success in life, honour, reputation, notoriety, the cultivation of the natural faculties of body and mind, is what men primarily busy themselves about. In this life the race is to the swift, and the battle is to the strong—and the prizes are visible and tangible, something you can clutch in your hand, and press to your bosom, something you can feel, you can see, you can now enjoy. Yes: life is to be lived, not for the next life—but for itself. "Live for this life," that is the maxim.† Push, strive, struggle, labour, stubbornly, doggedly—without wearying; "push your way in the world;" "get on;" "struggle ahead before the herd;" "go in, and win"—these are the cries of the heated, breathless multitude pushing their way in the darkness, having lost the "light of their eyes."

* Earl of Stirling's "Doomsday," First Hour.

† "This new and mysterious messenger of death (the Russian plague) fulfils a beneficent mission in calling upon us once more to set our houses in order, not that we may die, but that we may prolong the life of man."—*Times*, April 6, 1865.

Noi sem venuti al loco, ov' io t'ho detto
 Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose,
 Ch' hanno perduto 'l ben dell' intelletto.*

And, surely, by this it must have struck the reader that the steady admiration for "pluck," which obtains throughout the country, is based upon a more solid foundation than vogue or fashion; that it has more meaning in it than a simple chivalrous sentiment of honour, or a mere poetic fantasy; he must have seen that it is the "stuff" which makes a man "get on," that it is worth money, and it *pays*. It is a plant that thrives best in this life.

For, as to any religion, it has long ceased to be objective truth based upon impregnable argumentative grounds, and has become a sentiment, a feeling of the creature springing out of his own clay. It is thought to be all very well for certain temperaments, and certain individuals, for the leisured class, and for the old maid, and sentimental miss; but the real religion, after all, of a man is "to do his duty," to make the best of what he has, to develop conscientiously his muscle, to cultivate to a certain extent his mind, not to throw away a chance, to enjoy life if he be opulent, to gather goods if he be poor, to be thoroughly respectable and decorous, to be a good soldier, a good lawyer, a good physician, a good father of a family; for, be it remembered, he has long lost all idea of any better nature than that which he bears about with him. He possesses no higher notion of perfection than that which is formed on the most fascinating human model. He has lost all idea of—he reprobates humiliations, mortifications, self-reproach, shame, self-abasement, desire of contrition, subjection. He who should practise these would be—

Sung and proverb'd for a fool
 In every street.†

"As he would think a man a madman who waited for rivers to have done flowing, or mountains to make way before him, so he thinks it obstinate and impracticable, perverse, and almost insane, to run counter to the natural man, to thwart his wishes, to condemn his opinions, and to insist on his submitting to a rule foreign to him."‡ Whatever stands in the way of a robust constitution and frame, and the full swing of the faculties, and the onward progress after the prizes of life, is to be accounted an evil; whatever conduces to assist in the attainment of these, is to be reckoned a

* Dante, "Inferno," Canto iii. 20.

† Samson Agonistes.

‡ Dr. Newman.

good. Yes: mourning over sin, penances for the past,—the whole science of asceticism, he holds to be simple fanaticism,—all very well for a Dervish, a Hindoo, or for an African savage, but it is little in keeping with the “manly” and “practical” temper of an oaken-hearted, oaken-headed Englishman. He must have a religion that *pays*, that tends to keep his head cool, his eye clear, and his hand steady, while aiming at the bull’s-eye of true British beatitude. Since the Reformation the order of things has been reversed—in former days, religion formed the character of the man; now, the man fashions the character of the religion.

Is not this evident, too, in the very standard which ecclesiastics of the English religion acknowledge as their highest? Is it not evident in their thoroughly respectable, decorous, and secular spirit? Are they not true, as a body, to the creed they have been taught, and “constantly hold,” that “the worst heresy or infidelity a man can be guilty of is to do a shabby thing,” and that sin is not so much, after all, an offence against God, as an offence against fallen human nature? They may be “respectable,” they may be “finished scholars,” they may be thoroughly “serious,” they may belong to the “gentle cast,” they may represent the perfection of the natural man, but this they cannot do,—they cannot rise above their source. They appear in the spiritual world like those who have been visited with “a stroke,” paralyzed at the birth, and ushered into a stifling atmosphere, destitute of all supernatural life. Man has created many things; there is one thing he cannot create,—a minister of a heavenly religion. His priests, like the playthings of infants, as far as *real* religion is concerned, are utterly helpless to move or to stand of themselves; they naturally sink down, gravitate to the level to which they belong upon the earth. Their end may be sought after a different fashion, in a more quiet, less tumultuous manner than is the custom of the men of the world; yet it is the same. “If, indeed,” says Dr. Newman, “there were no country beyond the grave, it would be our wisdom to make of our present dwelling-place as much as ever we could; and this would be done . . . not by any absurd excess, not by tumult, dissipation, excitement, but by the ‘moderate and rational use,’ as Protestant sermons say, ‘of the gifts of Providence.’”*

But to bring out still more forcibly how completely the nation has lost the supernatural, and what a perfect system—woven out of human material—has been constructed to take its place, we will beg the reader for an instant to make an

* Newman, “On Universities,” p. 92.

hypothesis. Suppose, then, for a moment, a feeling all at once seized the country that there is no God and no eternity,—nothing beyond the present life; and suppose, moreover, that, notwithstanding this conviction, Government thought that it would be injurious to social and political life to let the “Church” drop through, and, consequently, for the sake of good order and propriety, maintained a state religion, establishing it by law, what would be the consequence? Would the acknowledged aims and objects of life be materially changed? Would the whole mechanism of life receive a violent shock, as if some great cylinder or wheel had given way? Would the organization of men’s minds, from loss of the one object to which they tended, fall to pieces at the joints, and become one maze of dark and miserable confusion? Would there ensue some great moral revolution in the system of our public schools, shaking them to their foundation, and turning methods now so lauded by Royal Commissioners into objectless, unmeaning day-dreams? Would the ministers become less sober, or the people less devout? Or would the social world of our little island sail on as now, with all her sheets set, without taking in a single reef, altering a single stitch of canvass, or veering to the wind one single point? We will not undertake to give the answer to this question. The answer, whatever it may be, will show how far God and eternity enter into the practical workings and aspirations of the minds of men, and how far it be true or false to say, as we do not hesitate now to declare, that the genuine, practical, plucky Englishman has fallen into nature, that his character is the natural expression of his robust frame, and his strong unregenerate will; and that his object is this life.

With these lights we invite the reader to accompany us in the inspection of that “Royal Institution,” Eton School.

Eton School is attached to Henry the Sixth’s “College of Blessed Marie of Eton besyde Wyndesore.” It consists of a Provost, seven Fellows, a Head and Lower Master, three “Conducts,” ten Day Clerks, 765 Oppidans, seventy Scholars, twelve Choristers, and ten Servants.*

Such are the materials which go towards forming the machine which has to educate the minds, and train the characters of over 800 of our most promising English youths at one time. “Like most English institutions, it is not framed upon a *pre-conceived plan*, but has grown up gradually. It is by degrees that bodies of several hundred boys have come to be congregated together in a small space, constantly associated with

* See “Public School Calendar,” 1865, p. 29.

one another in work and in play; and it is by degrees that methods of discipline and internal government have been worked out by masters and by themselves, and that channels of influence have been discovered and turned to account."* This is a valuable remark of the Commissioners. The public school system has grown up gradually; it is not the working of a plan of education founded upon fundamental and objective principles of truth. It is not a system which finds its sanction in immutable laws of morality, or in the infallible dictates of religion—in its essential form, alike independent of, and superior to, masters and to boys; it is not a method from above, coming down upon nature to stamp a higher form upon it, while it crushes the excrescences of human conceit, self-sufficiency, and pride; but it is a system which has "grown up," "on no preconceived plan," yet with a natural and spontaneous luxuriance, out of the rankness of the natural man. Man, as we have said, must live by law; the very animals are not without this. And as it is in the macrocosm, so is it in the microcosm; as it is in the great society of English life, so is it in the public school: man has drawn his law out of himself. As the spider spins his thread out of his own substance yard after yard, and, as though it were under the guidance of an intelligence, forms it into a complete and systematic wheel for catching flies, with its centre, its circumference, its radii, its diminishing circlets of slenderest threads; and as, after all, this delicately contrived, and cunningly complicated instrument, is nothing more and nothing less than a mere "spider's web," a "moment" in that strange insect's existence, so the system of public schools, as the Commissioners assure us, and as must be from the nature of the case, is nothing more than a moment in the existence of the animal called an Englishman, in *statu pupillari*. There is not a law, there is not a custom "winked at," or otherwise, from "shirking," and "cellar" at the "Christopher," upwards, which does not, "*a piena gola*," protest, that it is no foreign importation, but the natural growth of the soil. How sadly true, after these considerations, do we not feel to be the following statement of the Commissioners. They say that "the magnitude and the freedom of the public schools makes each of them, for a boy from twelve to eighteen, a little world calculated to give his character an education of the same kind, as it is destined afterwards to undergo in the great world of business and society."†

* Public School Commission, General Report, p. 44.

† General Report, p. 44.

And the whole thing is carried out with a consistency of consequence which could result from no other than a natural growth. There is nothing, we will not say supernatural alone, but even artificial, in the system; it is thoroughly English. And as the impress on the wax minutely corresponds to the most delicate and complicated carving on the die, so does the system of the great public schools correspond "*ad unguem*" to the natural character of the people of the country. The foot does not spread itself into the shape of the shoe, but the shoe accommodates itself to the requirements of the foot. It is this faculty of drawing a system of government out of the power and weakness of the natural man, digging our measures out of our own clay, in which consists the real secret of self-government.

Admirably consistent with themselves, the Commissioners are quite elated at the "success" of this system in the schools. "The principle of governing boys mainly through their own sense of what is right and honourable is undoubtedly the only true principle."* Here the principle is asserted with an instinctive sense that it is primary. The regulæ of truth and of honour, of good and of bad, of wrong and of right, by which boys should be governed and moulded, are not certain objectively true and immoveable standards, which straighten and support and hold nature erect; but they are the floating notions of schoolboys, which are ever rising and falling with the flow of public opinion, or, as the Commissioners aptly designate it, with a note of approval, "the conventional morality of schoolboys."†

Hence the principal duty of the "master" will be, as in fact it is, the anxious one of whipping up the tone or standard of schoolboy "opinion," when it threatens to sink—which is its natural tendency,—and to merge into despotism, or anarchy, or wild revolution. It appears to stand in about the same relation to the school, and to perform about the same anxious and delicate functions respecting its standard and its tone, as the *London Times* does relative to that of the English public, "in the great world of business and society." "It requires," say the Commissioners, "much watchfulness, and a firm, temperate, and judicious administration to keep up the tone and standard of opinion, which are very liable to fluctuate, and the decline of which speedily turns a good school into a bad one." Could not the Commissioners, *mutatis mutandis*, have made the same observation on the public press?

However it be, this principle of "self-government," of

* General Report, p. 44.

† Ibid., p. 43.

spinning everything out of one's own substance, is the grand informing principle at the bottom of the whole system of the English public schools.

The object has been rejected; the subject takes its place. Law is but self put into words, and codified. As with every Government which has abandoned the Church, so with the public school *régime*. It is its very nature to grow from below, and what gives the plant its speciality is the nature of its root. The root out of which the system of public school education grows is the genuine, unadulterated English character; and the "tap-root" is British "pluck." This system is formed, and perfected, and consolidated by a continual process of action and re-action,—of the action of the school upon it, and of its action upon the school. It mounts up into its full height and luxuriance through the operation of this double action; and just as the habits, and instincts, and functions of animals can be noted down and classified, and from these the nature and character of the animal can be known, and its form sketched out, so too from a study of a system of education, adopted (for instance) at Eton, a clear idea might be formed of the instincts, and habits, and the general features of the Protestant rising generation, during their busy preparation for "the great world of business and society." It is but the reflection of the face of fallen humanity in a glass.

Such being the case, as the system is but an expression of the genius of the people, it is but natural to expect that it would manifest itself as specially constructed for the development of the leading feature, the English character. Such an expectation is abundantly fulfilled. For here the Commissioners wind their joyful horns again, and trumpet forth the successes of the subjective system in this very respect. "With respect," they say, "to the principle itself (of self-government), we do not hesitate to express our conviction that it has borne excellent fruits, and done most valuable service to education. It has largely assisted, we believe, to create and keep alive a high and sound tone of feeling and opinion, and has promoted independence and manliness of character."

And we firmly believe that the Commissioners are in the right. We are thoroughly convinced that at Eton the whole complication of the system goes, as we have already hinted, towards achieving the great end of developing and sublimating the "pluck," or energy, or nerve, or bull-dog-courage—whatever word may connote it best—of the English boy. Not that it does even this upon any "preconceived plan;" it is but the natural form of its development, energizing according to the

special modification of the creature. Had the case been otherwise, the action of this system could never have been so constant and so perfect, so marvellously exact and so complete; nature only could direct harmoniously to one result, the action and counter-action, the checks and counter-checks of so complicated and intricate a piece of mechanism as Eton School presents. Had it been otherwise, we never should have dared to venture the assertion that Eton "is one vast and complicated organism for effecting this solitary purpose." Lest any should be tempted to think that we have been indulging in the pleasures of exaggeration, we shall make bold to go into this point at length.

The dominant principle, as we have before remarked, from which the whole question of school-government depends is expressed in the word "*self-government*,"—the expression of the creature in laws formed by the action of his own special human nature, and the constitution of those laws as his *regula vite*. How self begets self needs no development. And what the rule of life of a little meek, pink-nosed quadruped, commonly called a bull-dog, would be, could he harmonize his special propensities and weaknesses under scientific heads, need not be determined. That they would be pretty well in keeping with his reputation, and his predominant passion, we have very little reason to doubt. And it is equally probable that all other intelligent bull-dogs would be charmed with the brilliant success of his system of "*self-government*" in bringing out into full relief his "*self-reliance*," his "*independence of character*," and his "*love of freedom*," not to mention other qualities. But we appear to be wandering; we have to occupy ourselves with the English character.

And first, with regard to the object-matter of knowledge, and its action in the general development of the English character. This may seem at first blush to have but little to do with bringing out the specialities of the character of an English boy. But a little reflection will convince us that it plays, if not the first, at least a very prominent and distinguished part. From the "*Electa ex Ovidio et Tulio*," and the "*Palæstra Latina*," to the "*Epigrams of Martial*" and "*Lucretius*," from Hutton's "*Principia Græca*" and the "*Excerpta*," to Homer, Pindar, and Greek plays, from the beginning to the end of the scholastic course, the special character of the English boy is not only actively at work, but moreover actively worked upon. If he be a student with ability, and enter heart and soul into the intelligences of the pagans whose sentiments he reads; if he be capable of understanding their maxims, their principles of action, their ideas of perfection, of beauty,

of moral worth, of truth, of goodness, of what is admirable or becoming or decorous, of what is magnanimous, of what is glorious, of what is heroic,—if he can in a measure grasp their standards, appreciate their patterns, and enter into their tone; it stands to reason that the very process of his doing so must work an effect upon his character; and that the more fully he lives (as it were) in their lives, tempers himself to their methods of thought, and partakes of the radiation of their spirit, so much the more will his mind breathe in the atmosphere of the natural man; and so much the more, too, will those cravings, aspirations, and longings of carnal nature, which are at the bottom of every model of pagan perfection, be developed from their rudimental and embryo state within him, into motives of action, standards of perfection, rules of life, and measures of the good, the beautiful, and the true. And all this the more so as children, who but now, as it were, have come fresh out of the creative hand, have within them an instinctive impulse, a supernatural yearning towards the perfections of the saints—towards what alone can be in any true sense beautiful, or sublime, or heroic,—towards what is honourable, and upright, and generous, and pure. They have “immortal longings” in them. They bear within their breasts the “*potentia*” of noble creations; the instincts of high things are planted in their souls:—what wonder, then, that they should seize upon and devour the shadow, since they have never known the substance, and that they should mistake so artful a counterfeit of what is great and good, for greatness and goodness itself! How very much is there not in pagan life, in the achievements of pagan heroes, in their high courage, in their sublime self-neglect, in their stoic endurance, in their devotion to a noble thought, in their tender gentleness of mind, in their undaunted prowess, in their large love for their father-land, in their exquisite taste and polish and refinement,—to win a heart which had never been touched by nobler or purer things, or even to tempt a heart which has? And yet all this brightness, this dazzle—this splendid glitter—is not gold. It is paganism in all its purity,—in its most winning form. It is not Christian. It may be, if you will, a straight stock on which to graft a nobler form, still it is but a stock—little better, if any better, than the briar or the thorn—the aspirations of a humanity which was greatly shaken, though not broken, by the fall. When, then, we say, a boy from the age of twelve to the time he is nineteen, the most important and plastic period of life, has been continuously drinking into his mind, without antidote or explanation, without any infusion of a higher sense, the principles,

standards, and heroism of purely pagan humanity, when he has been in the habit of living and breathing in the same atmosphere as men who really knew not God, what will be the inevitable result? Why, that he will imbibe the "virus,"—that his character will naturally and spontaneously form itself, and be modified by the principles which ruled in the heathen world, and he will gain a fixed intellectual and scientific appreciation of those special pagan traits which harmonize most naturally with his mind, and fit in most fully with his nature. He will see "pluck," "courage," "grim, earnest, stubborn energy" sublimated into most perfect specimens of unregenerate man. The Greeks, for instance, "boasted that 'grasshoppers,' like them, old of race and pure of blood, could be influenced in their conduct by nothing short of a fine and delicate taste, a sense of honour, and an elevated, aspiring spirit; their model man, like the pattern of chivalry, was a gentleman, *καλοκἀγαθός*."* Save that their ideal is coarser, is there any very essential difference in the boast of Englishmen of the present day?

But we are very far from imagining that every English boy is acted upon, to anything like the extent we have supposed possible, by the object-matter of knowledge. We are well aware that high and finished scholarship is an exception, and that it requires a special gift freely to live and move and breathe in the pagan atmosphere of Greek and Latin classics. Still, we do believe that in proportion as such is the case, the intelligence and the character become affected; and that if pagan principles, standards, and patterns, become located in the mind, they will not leave it in the same state that they found it. They may have found it thoroughly pagan and human, is it to be supposed that they will leave it less so? How far a Catholic professor can turn such models into examples whereby to "set off" the true Christian character, which alone without a misnomer can be called great and good, and point out the glory of the one by showing the misery of the other, does not enter into our present scope. It is very far indeed from being our opinion that classical studies should form no part of Catholic education. But we are, at present, exclusively dealing with Protestant public schools.

Yet if so be the dull or idle boy at Eton does not acquire so classical or intellectual an appreciation of the English character as it shines forth in the examples of the pagans, he gains no less an admiration of it; and, perhaps, has more favourable opportunities for the uninterrupted development of it, in the

* Newman, "On Universities," p. 122.

line of action he adopts. The dull or idle boy has to be clever and quick in another way. He has continually to practise himself in solving the difficult problem of saying a lesson without the labour of learning it, and escaping the pain of a "licking," and at the same time richly deserving it. Here is full scope for cunning and ingenuity and contrivance. Here is an opportunity for the practice of that "coolness," that "self-possession," that "self-mastery," which are amongst the distinguishing marks of a genuine Englishman. Here that strange abnormal system of "shirking" comes in, which is thoroughly countenanced and established at Eton.* A boy who has the "face" to go straight through his lesson, construing his Latin or Greek author in the presence of his tutor "with the English translation written word for word over the Latin or Greek," must have indeed already acquired a presence of mind and an assurance, certainly not Christian, still, (we shall be reminded,) likely to be most useful, in "the great world of business and society." On no other ground but this can we conjecture so odious a practice receiving the support of the professors of the school.† Its influence towards formation of character is too obvious to require development.

Again, when verses have to be presented, stupid or idle boys prefer doing them vicariously—employing one who is fond of indulging in that art, and clever at it, to write the verses for them. Here, though all the boast about honour, and delicacy, and fine feeling seems to be proved a myth, still there is a higher development, one to which the former has invariably to play but a very secondary part—the "bravado" and pluck of taking your chance of getting through, and the inexpressible pleasure of "doing" the tutor. Mr. Hemyng gives a characteristic instance in the case of his hero "Butler Burke." The reader should notice the tone and spirit throughout; it is very suggestive of the high-mindedness, manliness, and "freemasonry of honour," and of "the conventional morality of schoolboys," of which there has been so much boasting lately. Butler Burke had employed a boy named "Terminus" to write his verses for him:—

After tea Burke wrote out the verses. Terminus. . . . going to the pupil-room, he laid them on the tutor's desk, and sitting down waited for his turn to have them looked over. Ten minutes elapsed and Mr. Wynne took up Butler Burke's copy, and exclaimed—

"Burke!"

Burke was by his side in a moment, and *watched* Mr. Wynne as he read

* Report, Evidence, Eton, Mr. Walford, M.A., Q. 8,179.

† Ibid., Q. 8, 180.

every line, moving his pen slowly over the words, to be in readiness for the obliteration of any error. . . . Still there was no mistake. Butler Burke began to feel uneasy ; he generally had half-a-dozen errors at least—sometimes many more. Mr. Wynne reached the end of the copy without making one erasure. Having done so, he looked up into Butler Burke's face dubiously.

"This is a capital set of verses, Burke, if——"

Then he hesitated, and Butler Burke wondered what was coming next.

"If you did them yourself," continued Mr. Wynne.

"Please, Sir ——"

"Now, answer me honestly. Are these verses your own composition?"

Butler Burke was strongly tempted to say "Yes, Sir ; they are indeed, I give you my word they are," for he knew that Mr. Wynne would be bound to believe him, as it was impossible to prove the contrary. . . . But he was not in the habit of telling falsehoods, and he possessed a species of *pride* which rebelled against the practice of deception. "If I tell the truth," he argued, "he will let me down easy."

Acting on this presumption, he said—

"No, sir ; they are not."

"Not your own ? Where is the old copy ?"

"Please, sir, I hadn't an old copy."

"Who did them for you ?"

"I would rather not say, sir."

"You acknowledge that they are not your own ?"

"Yes, sir."

"Very well. . . . In order to express my sense of dissatisfaction at your conduct, I shall most certainly put you in the bill."

He was to be flogged. On leaving the tutor the boys did not fail to notice that Burke was dejected.

"Hallo !" exclaimed Fisher, "What's the row ? You look down on your luck."

"So I am."

"What has happened ?"

"It isn't anything that has happened ; it is something that is going to happen."

"Oh !" said Lascelles, "pitch us your pitiful story."

"Story, God bless you, I have none to tell, sir !" said Burke, "except this, that I cribbed my verses ; my tutor bowled me out, and is going to have me swiped."

"Oh ! it won't hurt you—wake you up a little," exclaimed Lascelles. . . . "It's nothing when you're used to it. It stings a little at first—but that's all. Don't be cut up, man alive !"

"It serves him right ! I'm so beastly glad," cried a voice from an invisible corner, which Burke at once recognized as his old enemy, Abbott.

"You shut up," exclaimed Burke, "or I'll lick you !"

"You'll get it to-morrow," continued Abbott, disregarding this warning ; I wouldn't be you. You'll get it tighter for being so jolly cocky last half. I should like to be there and hear you sing out."

Burke made a dive through the crowd; but Abbott slipped like an eel through his grasp . . .

Burke walked on, and passing by Purefoy's room, slipped in.

"I am going to be flogged, Purefoy!" he exclaimed.

"Flogged! what for?" cried Purefoy, laying down his book, and looking up.

"Oh! I have come to a great grief. I went up town with Montrose, and got a fellow to do my verses for me. My tutor asked me if they were my own."

"Why, were they so execrably bad?"

"Not at all; they were wonderfully good. There wasn't a mistake in the whole copy. Well, I told my tutor the truth, and *I am infernally sorry now I ever did*; if I'd told him a cram, I should have got off all right. *It's the last time he ever gets the truth out of me, I'll take my oath.*"

He goes for punishment:—

Butler Burke and his companions in misfortune, preceded by Strabo, crept like unwilling snails up the steps; two lower boys of inquisitive tendencies followed them, and when the door of the switching room was shut, they had the hardihood to look through the key-hole, taking it in turns to enjoy that privilege. There was a whistling noise as of something being violently propelled through the air, then a dull thud was heard, as it came in contact with some foreign substance, and in more than one instance a dismal groan was heard. But the lower boys, who were evidently adamant and cast-iron, instead of shuddering, actually laughed, and seemed to enjoy the furtive spectacle immensely.*

These characters are said by the public press to be "types of the Etonians." Again,—“The boys are good healthy flesh and blood boys, who go through their share of toils and vexations, amuse themselves, and get into scrapes without cant or affectation.” The public appears to recognize in these specimens the rudiments of pattern men. And so they are,—of pattern Englishmen. Now the whole of the above scene arose from vicarious verse making. That one idle act of the Eton hero created numberless occasions for the outward expression of British blood. The “situations” in which he found himself, and the sentiments and resolutions they engendered, the opportunity the “lower boys” had of feasting on the pain of big companions, their genuine instinct for blood and adventure, the thrill of content which ran through their veins as they were drinking it all in “through the key-hole,” and their delight as they heard “thud” after “thud,” and groan after groan following “the whistling noise through the air” of the master’s rod; all this, which has “grown up out of no

* P. 175.

preconceived plan," must have acted and re-acted upon the impressionable characters of the boys, and done as much, nay more, to bring out the genuine English "stuff" in them than any amount of scholarship. Indeed, we believe of three reasons this is not the least why Eton has the reputation of turning out a character so purely English,—why she is in this respect by all proclaimed to carry off the palm—that there is less scholarship at Eton than at the other public schools. The genuine Englishman is rough, burly, and more bold than polished. Pagan classics draw out the English "stuff" indeed, as we have said; but they put a gloss upon it which is not part of its natural texture. Paganism—Greek paganism—was a much more highly finished thing than English naturalism has ever been. In the Greeks the intellect predominates; in Englishmen the strong, bold, hardy physique. Scholarship makes the man more intellectual and less animal. The power which belongs to his tissues, his bone, his sinew, is partially reduced, and a larger development takes place in his intelligence, and by degrees he loses that high tension of muscular vigour which acted so strongly upon the character of his mind. He becomes a student, an Englishman, indeed, but sublimated by science. The thorough unadulterated Englishman—that type which the nation most admires—is not a finished, delicate-minded scholar. And if the Royal Commissioners think to preserve the physical strength of the rough material, they had better be careful of "modern languages and sciences," and think again before they give any very great impetus to perfect scholarship. In certain cases muscle and mind may, perhaps, be both developed to some high perfection; but this is quite the exception. In the long run, according to all experience, what is taken out in the one is lost in the other. And here we would have it observed that we by no means wish to imply, from what we have said, that muscle should be preferred to mind,—merely this,—that if the Commissioners *wish* to preserve a certain quality, they should go the right way about it.

But, after all, the great motive power in forming the character of the English boy is not so much in the object-matter of knowledge, and in the results which flow from dullness or idleness, as in the influence of boy upon boy, and of the "public opinion" which is generated in the school. The schoolboy's world is the society of his companions, his principles those recognized by that noisy turbulent little world,—and their sanction, the "conventional morality of schoolboys." His code of honour, his views of right and wrong, grow out of the expediency of the moment, stiffened

by British pride. For instance, to lie to a companion, if it be done from cowardice, is mean; to "shirk," or tell a lie to a tutor or a master, is no disgrace. You take your chance to get a "licking," and altogether it is rather a "plucky" thing to do. To rob a companion might result in a "college licking," which, in his evidence, Mr. C. G. Lyttelton calls "a very solemn ceremonial;" but to kill fowls, steal ducks', swans', and other eggs from carefully-kept preserves,—to smash trays of figures off the heads of Italian hawkers, is a legitimate and glorious pastime. Anything that can be construed into pluck, and daring, and fearlessness, meets with universal approbation. Anything in the shape of adventure, with a high spice of danger and devilry, is the very thing of all others which a public schoolboy revels in. To give an instance of how the character finds occasion for development, here is an example from "Butler Burke," which, we believe, illustrates most perfectly its speciality.

Burke and Montrose were stealing watercresses from a cottager:—

Suddenly a man came out of a cottage and exclaimed—

"Go away from there; go away, you young thieves, or I'll set the dog on you."

"I shall go when I like, and not before," replied Montrose.

"We'll see about that," cried the man, who ran to a kennel and unfastened a very determined-looking bull-dog.

"Hie on! hie on! Loo, dog! stick to 'em!" cried the man, clapping his hands.

"I say," exclaimed Burke, "we had better bunk, I think, don't you? It is getting rather unpleasant."

"Don't alarm yourself," replied Montrose; "I think I know how to manage him. A mad dog once flew at me in Edinburgh, but he didn't bite me."

Butler Burke drew back to a respectful distance, and left Montrose to fight the battle. Montrose did not seem at all frightened; he continued picking watercresses until the dog was on the opposite side of the bank. The animal did not stop a moment; he drew himself together and jumped across. Montrose was ready for his opponent; the leap was at least three feet, and on reaching the opposite bank the dog rolled over on its side. Montrose did not lose this opportunity; he took a run and kicked the brute on the jaw sending him headlong into the stream. The dog was partially stunned, but he swam to land, and began to climb up the bank; another tremendous kick sent him rolling once more into the water, but game to the last he again made to the shore. . . . The third time he kicked the dog he made the beast's teeth rattle like castanets; but as the animal had a footing on the ground, it was difficult to dislodge him. Butler Burke ran up and dealt the dog a *coup de pied* which was administered with such force that it broke its leg;

but the beast was so well trained, that it continued the contest on three legs." *

One more example and that will suffice.

Montrose by accident sent a bullet from his pistol through the hat of a tall Eton master. The boy had aimed at a rat among the bushes, by the river-side, and had hit the master's hat instead.

"Do you know, sir," exclaimed the master, "that I very nearly lost my life just now? A bullet from your pistol went through my hat."

"It was purely accidental, sir," replied Montrose; "I fell into the water, and the trigger caught in a bush. I didn't know there was any harm in shooting a rat on a fine day; rats, sir, are vermin, and it is the duty of every one to destroy vermin."

"There is harm in sending a bullet through my hat, sir," cried Mr. Markby. "God bless me! suppose it had been my head?"

"Why, then," said Montrose, *sotto voce*, "it would have let daylight in. It's his own fault. He shouldn't be so tall; if he were a decent height, it wouldn't have touched him. I hate people to run to seed like that." †

Instances of the nature of the above might be multiplied indefinitely; they are the staple of what books on public school life are composed of, and create the general atmosphere in which British lungs expand most freely. That recklessness, that unbending spirit, that bull-dog determination, that indomitable courage, that independence of character and power of will, that total absence of reverence and veneration, that strength of animal passion, that cool inimitable impertinence, that marvellous self-assurance, that power of "pluck," that "bravado" which boils in the blood, finds its expression, its development, its seal in the rough, noisy, exciting, adventurous life of a public school. No boy can elbow his way up from the lower remove of the fourth, to the upper division of the sixth, through the common system of "trials" and "removes," without being broken in to many things, and hardened simply by a process of friction to endure, to suffer, to be patient, to bide his time, without having learnt, (as beings in a lower order of creation learn), to take care of himself, to hold his own, to fight his way, to trust to his own *nous*, his own determination, and coolness, and pluck, without, in a word, being prepared for "the great world of business and society."

Nor is this alone done by the excitement of adventure—it is more fully and systematically accomplished in the

* Butler Burke at Eton, p. 274.

† Ibid., p. 267.

relations of boys to each other, and the nature of their standard games.

The system of "fagging" is a severe noviciate for any boy. "The sixth" are the lords and masters. "Liberty" or six below the "sixth," are exempt; the rest fag. The fag has to call his master, bring his hot water, run errands, fag at breakfast, and dinner, and tea. For breakfast, he has to toast the bread—he fries the sausages in the place appointed for such work, gets the kettle, makes the tea, lays the cloth, and waits upon his lord and master till dismissed: this depends upon the good pleasure of the master. At dinner he has to take the plates round, and pour out the beer. The fag is continually sent up town. In the evening there is no time free from fagging. Any boy of the "sixth" can, during the day, call "Come here." At this summons every fag has to present himself. If only one of the "sixth" cry "Come here," and there be sixteen fags within hearing, they have all to rush together and wait upon this one boy; not one is permitted to remain behind. The amount of bullying and tyranny which this system engenders, or at least gives continual opportunity for, it is reported, is "less than it has been." The Commissioners speak approvingly of it, and with great logical consistency, for they say:—"It is an institution *created by the boys themselves* in the exercise of the liberty allowed to them, and it is popular with them; and it is tacitly sanctioned by the masters, who have seen the tyranny of superior strength tempered and restrained in this way by rule and custom, till practically it has ceased to be tyranny at all."* They declare, moreover, that it is useful "in forming, on the one hand, habits of obedience and of respect for established authority, and, on the other, of wielding power without abusing it."†

These two extracts serve a double purpose. They show how fully this system of "self-government" is that which educates the character of the Eton boy—that it is "an institution created by the boys themselves;" and they, moreover, show that the principle of obedience and respect for authority and the principle regulating the use of power, are formed by each boy for himself, through experience, modified by the "conventional morality of school-boys"—that as the "institution" of fagging has grown out of the natural propensity which the strong have to domineer over the weak, so too the principles on which it is regulated are the sum of the results of those

* General Report, p. 44.

† Report, Second Part, Eton, p. 96.

propensities moderated by a vague "feeling" in the school, that life could not possibly exist in a chronic state of anarchy or tyranny. Principles and practice all grow from below, and are but the expressions of fallen nature, widowed of the supernatural, blindly shaking into a rough kind of equilibrium, without interfering, more than is called for by absolute necessity, with the fullest expansion of the forces of the animal. How directly this "institution" of fagging has grown out of the Englishman's nature, and reacts upon it during the years he is at school, need no commenting of ours.

Then, there are the games. The great encouragement that is given to the games and the important place they occupy in the *régime* of the school is "the characteristic of Eton."* This is the second of our three reasons why this public school stands foremost in forming the pure English character. Mr. Walford informed the Commissioners that, at Eton, "it is rather the fashion of the day to speak in favour of what is called muscular Christianity." He thought that "the opinion that muscle is superior to brain has increased," and that the Oppidans are so idle on account of "the immense amount of patronage which is given to the games instead of to the intellectual development of the boys."† In summer twenty-four hours a week are dedicated to cricket alone; no good can be done at it without practising, at the very least, five hours a day. We might go to a considerable length in showing what a paramount hold athletic and muscular exercises have upon the boys; how, after all, a strong skilful arm, a steady eye, nerve, muscle, sinew, endurance, pluck—the old story bursts through all trammels and impediments; and how, in spite of the Tomline prize and the Newcastle scholarship, the animal energy of the Englishman is the real, the genuine object of esteem and admiration. In fact, the authorities of the school appear to be affected by it almost as much as the boys. They dread lest they should create too great emulation in matters of school work, for they feel that it would somewhat damp the excitements of sport in the field. In the Commissioners' delicate way of putting it:—"Instead of emulation reliance appears to be placed on what may be called the mechanical movement of the school;" again, "Eton employs more sparingly than any other great school, the spur of emulation;" and this because of a "strong and laudable anxiety to afford all the boys as much liberty as they could safely enjoy, and ample scope for healthy amusements." That an amazing "scope" is given

* Evidence, Eton, Mr. Walford, M.A., q. 2,859, p. 270.

† Ibid., q. 8,245.

to "amusements" is patent from many pages of evidence in the Parliamentary Report. And if we did not clearly understand what an English education means, what "parents send their sons to Eton for,"* and what the fundamental characteristic of the nation is, it would simply be inexplicable. But with this threefold knowledge in our minds the fact presents no difficulty to us. Rather the reverse. We cannot help being struck with admiration at the consistency of a motive power, which under every most varied circumstance and position—it absolutely matters not what the situations be, or the mutual relation of phenomena—manifests itself with all the certainty of a law of nature and colours everything with itself. All this, again, "has grown up out of no preconceived plan," but has presented itself on the principle of the spider. How the amusements of cricket, foot-ball, boating, and bathing, and the rest, tend towards developing the character Englishmen pride themselves upon so much, is evident on the face of it.

Then the "anxiety" expressed to afford the boys as much "liberty" as possible. When we say that they can go out alone, go uptown, drink bad beer at the "Tap," give breakfasts, and "cellar" at a regular public-house, licensed to sell ardent spirits, called the "Christopher," the reader will hardly imagine it necessary that there should be much anxiety on the score of liberty. Mr. Walford says:—"The number of boys who go to the 'Tap' and the 'Christopher' is very great. I should think that very often 100 boys go there in the course of the day." Yet they observe certain rules there, and the punishment for their infringement is strictly enforced. "If a boy break a rule," says Mr. Walford, "the fine is *more beer*, so the very strictness leads to more drinking. The 'Tap' often leads boys into expense and debt. Going there is forbidden, and yet winked at." That there are drinking "sets" is clear from the "Evidence." Mr. Hemyng, giving an account of a drinking bout at the "Christopher," says:—"Chorley . . . determined to look after Burke, and when the fireworks had been let off, and all was over, he took him by the arm and helped him through college, stopping at Knox's for some soda-water. Burke managed to answer to his name at absence, and put in an appearance at supper, but when he reached his room he was asleep in two minutes. Bow was not so fortunate; he was taken home in a wheelbarrow, and met his deserts in the morning."† How a most

* See the *Times*' Leader, April 3, 1865.

† Butler Burke at Eton, p. 310.

tender sympathy for such-like delinquencies remains alive long after schooldays are over is amusingly evident from this opinion of the author of "Gaspar Trenchard":—"To switch a little boy," he says, "may be a harmless pastime; but for a young man in the sixth form to be turned down into a lower division, so that he may be flogged for getting tipsy at Surly on a check-night, is going a little too far, and calls for reprobation and amendment."*

Mr. Hemyng takes his stand, with true English and Eton indignation, for the "liberty of the subject;" he instinctively asserts the principles of "self-government." The temper and tone of his book is thoroughly "Etonish." We do not say this by way of praise, but merely as the statement of a fact. No one who has not a *con amore* feeling could have put down his dialogues, or have written in his spirit. Only Eton could have given the intelligence such a training by its pagan classics, its methods of punishment, its adventurous spirit, its irreverent tone, its rank naturalism, its despotic self-rule, its pre-eminence in sport, its liberty of the subject, and its genuine English code of taste and morality.

As to religion, of that we hardly dare venture to speak. We hardly dare venture to draw her forth into the light of day with her poor, meagre, lean figure—starved to the bone, shrinking out of sight all the week, locked up in a cupboard out of the way—it would look so like trifling or cruelty, or a wanton display of her forlorn and hapless condition. And, indeed, she is scarcely as much as a figure starved to the bone—more like those skins of serpents left coiling life-like upon a rock, and with all the life slipped out of them—dried-up cases of an energy which has gone, without substance or consistency—the mere rejected garment of a living thing that has disappeared one knows not where.

And how could it possibly be otherwise, with no sacraments, without supernatural habits, with no acknowledgment of supernatural grace, with no thought of meditation, with no angels or saints, with no system of heavenly motives, with no sanctifying rule for living, with nothing but strong, rank nature expanded to the full; with a few formal sermons indeed, and "Sunday questions," and prayers—the dry, starch, freezing service of the Church of England; but with no heavenly standards, or examples, or patterns of action; with no acknowledged or admitted obligation to form and mould the man upon a higher type, and raise himself above his nature, and stamp a purer impress on it?

* Butler Burke at Eton, p. 129.

How could it possibly be otherwise, when his model-man is no longer the *God-man* but the *Eton-man*?

How could it possibly be otherwise, when the whole system points to one solitary end—to bring out muscle, pluck, self-reliance, independence, endurance—the animal man; and make the perfection of a being, created to the image and the likeness of his God, a mere question of tissues and of tendons?

How could it possibly be otherwise, when the principles which are ever at play upon the character of the boy and bring it into ripeness are purely human principles—principles drawn out of fallen nature; motives of action, standards of right, measures of perfection which are but the exhalations of carnality?

How could it possibly be otherwise, when the Commission which has been entrusted with the office of reporting on the schools triumphantly declare that in them “the character receives an education of the *same kind* as it is destined afterwards to undergo in the *great world* of business and society?”

How could it possibly be otherwise, when religion is no suffered to touch the boy’s soul, and mould and model it, and soften his nature, and make it childlike, and teach it love from the heart, and deep contrition, and abiding sorrow for sin, and self-abasement, and true humility?

How could it possibly be otherwise, when they have thrown off the true Church, the only *alma mater* worthy of the name—the light of their eyes, their only hope and salvation, and have taken themselves into the hands of their own cunning in the training of the soul, and in the formation of the heart?

How could it possibly be otherwise, unless clay can change into pure gold, and the spring mount above its source, and a man raise himself off the earth on which he rests?

How could it possibly be otherwise, till God break the seal from their eyes, and pour in the freshness of His supernatural light, to shake and astonish their souls into a feeling after the invisible things of His glory?

The only thing in the whole mechanism of the public schools which to us seems an anomaly, looking upon it as a system, which appears as an exception, something cumbersome, a species of incubus—having no relation to any other portion of the machinery, isolated from the general activity of the other parts—is the attempt to keep up the mask of a religion—the observance of the formality of worship once a week. If the “conventional morality of the school” were well whipped up

by an active head-master, and order and decorum, and "good taste," and "proper feeling," strictly insisted on, as it might be most consistently by the veriest unbelievers, we really do not see, as far as the qualities and character of an English gentleman are concerned, as enumerated by the Commissioners, where the loss would be. Surely, without it, he could consider "that the worst infidelity a man could be guilty of is to do a shabby thing;" he could "grow into the gentle cast;" "he could be initiated into the freemasonry of honour;" "he could get good manners;" he "could get a good tone;" he could acquire "manliness, self-reliance, and independence of character." Yet, let it be observed, we do not say that such a thing should be done: all we mean is this—that the whole system, the whole machine is not in gear with religion; they point in different directions, and pursue different ends; indeed they are mutually destructive of each other. If real, germane religion were introduced—we do not mean mere opening the Bible, or simple "seriousness," or being "confirmed," or not "ridiculing" prayer, or not laughing at the "conduct;" but we mean the joining of man again to his offended Maker, through true sorrow of heart, self-abasement, the mortification of the passions, acknowledgment of sin; we mean true righteousness, and the formation of the intelligence and the heart upon the only true pattern for mankind, who is ever crying out, "Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart"—were such a religion as this introduced, with all its supernatural consequences, the whole system of "self-government" of public schools would simply be pulverized. Yes—God or not God? heaven or earth—one or the other—not both. If you are so utterly blind as to fix upon mammon, don't be so foolish as to fancy that you can get God too. That combination has been attempted over and over again, and has met with but one result. Not that we mean to infer that the public school system goes so far as to attempt a combination of both. Indeed the system, as we have hinted, takes no cognizance at all of religion as such; but the better nature of man, or the effects of a tradition which once possessed the land, leads him to seek out at least the shadow of a mutilated garment of worship to cover the indecency of a simply worldly or human rule of life. Were it torn away, would Adam be moved to hide himself, and thus in due season hear the voice of God sounding in his ears, "Where art thou?" and so meet with mercy and with light?

Let us look a little closer into the religion of the public school, and the views the Commissioners take of it.

We hear loud cries in Parliament that boys should be made

gentlemen, honourable, and manly ; that something should be done to increase their stock of secular knowledge ; but not a breath about their future state, proficiency in love of God, and prayer, and spiritual life. The Bishop of London speaks, but it is of different things: he enlarges on the grand old "traditions" and worldly glory of Etonia—its distinguished names, and the "pride" of parents. The Archbishop of Canterbury rises from his seat, but not a word about the influence of another life—not a hint at the paramount necessity of forming a character here which may be in keeping with the life hereafter. They do not think—it does not come into their heads, that "education" in the true sense, "formation of character," according to the only sound philosophy (which takes in man's whole career), is a preparation primarily, not "for the great world of business and society," but for "the great world of God, and of His angels and His saints." To apply to them the words of Dr. Newman:—"They seem to copy the lower specimens of animated nature, who, with their wings pulled off, or a pin run through them, or eaten out by parasitical enemies, walk about unconscious of their state of disadvantage."* The danger is that *we* should become unconscious of it too. We are too apt to take for granted that Protestants of course will speak, will think, like this ; and from the very habit of hearing the most vital questions treated as if there were no Almighty God, as if the supernatural were but an old wife's tale, we settle down with almost unconcern, with accustomed ears, to hear utter infidelities ; and what is worse, we not merely feel no thrill of horror running through our souls—these godless utterances are, not alone,

As the cuckoo is in June,
Heard, not regarded,—

but we stand in great danger of having the keen edge of our religious susceptibility blunted for us, and of losing the clear intellectual grasp of how horrible a thing it is to be so engrossed with the pride of this life, as to forget—utterly ignore—that there is an "evermore."

This entire neglect of the supernatural is not so much, however, the omission of a known and important truth as an ignorance of it. The Episcopal eye, which is so keen to observe the signs of the times—that the young nobility may haply be left behind in the race of life, unless something be devised for their salvation,—is not an instrument educated to see another end in the far distance, beyond earth's horizon.

* On University Education.

Like all short-sighted people, these "spiritual" lords see minutely, can narrowly watch, that which is close under their eyes; but beyond this is a thick mist. And when they do appear to hit upon some object moving in the fog—some *glimmering* of religious truth or obligation—it is merely just enough to show how awkward, how at sea they are.

It would be hardly fair to expect that the Commissioners should express themselves more religiously than the bishops. As far as we can judge, they appear about upon a par. The question of religion has had to be brought before them, and they have had to treat it. Its very approach seems, like a sirocco, to enervate their energies—to emasculate them at once of their shrewd, hard, practical sense, which they know so well how to bring to bear upon other subjects. For instance, their united wisdom is content to deal us out such platitudes as this:—"The judgment of one master respecting the kind and amount of religious teaching may not be the same as that of another, and the success with which they teach, is likely to vary considerably." "We believe," they say, consolingly, "that there is a general sense that the religious instruction of the boys should not be confined to mere learning by heart passages of Scripture and facts of sacred history." "At the first opportunity offered after confirmation, it appears to be almost the invariable practice to attend communion." "We have the *satisfaction* of believing that not only boys are not disturbed or ridiculed whilst saying their private prayers, but that the omission to do this is the exception, not the rule."* What a magnificent "view" the Commissioners must have had of religion! What a grasp of supernatural principle, of the sublimity of the intercourse of the creature with the Creator, and of the part God's light plays in the formation of the character and the education of the heart! The fact is, they had an unconscious feeling, which seems to have influenced them throughout, that they were venturing upon an unknown, an unexplored field. They were like timid boys when the ice is thin—they feel tenderly with one foot, and are only too glad for an excuse to draw it back again, and remain on *terra firma*. Hence they say, "Religious instruction eminently requires to be handled with judgment and with caution." They speak of "questions which must be left to the wisdom and experience of preachers, masters, and tutors;" and, drawing their foot out of it as far as decency will permit, "it is *at home*," say they, "even *more than at school*, that religious motives and feelings should be implanted

* See Gen. Report, p. 45.

and a knowledge of the truths of religion acquired." Hence section 27, on "Chapel Services, Prayers, and Preaching," in the Eton Report, dwindles into one miserable and unmeaning quarter of a page.* Could they not have let it off with less?

The masters appear even more like men on stilts than the Commissioners. However, we must do Mr. Balston justice. He, at least, has a consistent view on "religious training and influence;" and, as Lord Lyttelton says his experience "is very valuable, because of its three-fold character as Assistant, Fellow, and Head-master," we shall bring him forward as a fair specimen. He is Head-master of Eton. He, consequently, as we may naturally suppose, is a kind of exponent of the genuine Eton principle of self-government. He has shown himself to be a man, if not of less timidity, at all events of more logic, than the Commissioners. He would carry the Eton principle out to its full logical conclusions. He would not have it arbitrarily stopped short at religion; and he traces the simplicity of manner and noble bearing of the Eton men to the fact that logic has had its way. Religion grows up "on no preconceived plan" out of the creature. This appears to be his idea. "The greater the influence of the preacher," he says, "the more would he destroy in the boys the purity and freedom, and, therefore, the thorough simplicity and reality of religion."† After much obstinate beating about the bush, Lord Clarendon drew it out of him that by "simplicity" he meant "*independence of thought in religious matters.*" And the consequence of this "simplicity" was, that Mr. Balston "noticed in Eton men an absence of all mannerism, if he might so call it, a freedom from ostentation in the conscientious discharge of what they considered their duty as Christian men." This "simplicity" of religious thought is the third of our three reasons why the English public are right when they declare that the Royal Institution of Eton turns out a more pure and genuine "English gentleman" than any other public school. There is no chance there of this pattern man being breathed upon by even the spectre (it would seem) of a symbol of objective truth or principle!

Mr. Hemyng gives us a practical example of the temper of the Eton mind, which is quite in keeping with the theory of the Head-master:—

Butler Burke had never heard his tutor preach, and he was rather anxious to see how he would acquit himself. *All schoolboys* consider themselves

* See Gen. Report, p. 97.

† Eton Report, p. 100, q. 3,128. Min. of Evid. See also q. 3,130.

qualified to sit in judgment upon public speakers, and Burke had not a very high opinion of the powers of either the chaplain, the provost, or the "conduct" of Eton. Bending forward [in church] to Childe Martin, he said,—

"My tutor is going to give tongue. I hope he wont break down. I should be sorry to see him come to grief."

He spoke during that interregnum which always occurs between the service and the sermon. The organ was playing a gentle melody, and as far as "church work" went, there was absolutely nothing to do. People were coughing and blowing their noses, and looking at one another.*

And the mention of "Childe Martin" suggests one more remark, viz.,—that there is no index more exact to point out what value is placed upon religion at public schools by Englishmen than the "staple" of which popular stories of public school life are composed. In all books there must be light and shade. One character is created to show the other off. It is a case of contrast. The hero of the tale not only shines by his own light, but is moreover illuminated by those who stand around him. So with the stories of which we speak. The hero is, without exception, a personification of the incipient "English gentleman," full of strength, vigour, animal spirits, pluck, daring, "honour," and irreverence. He is "lighted up" by a character which personifies "Religion,"—a poor, skinny, little, weedy, mealy-faced boy, with large blue eyes, a big Bible, and no constitution,—shivering and miserable as the last pig in a litter,—equally helpless, and still more ill-used. He is made use of for a few chapters, plays his miserable part, and, being utterly unfit for anything in this world, and, therefore, promising to be too great a puzzle even to the ingenuity of the author, dies most opportunely of scarlet fever or consumption almost as soon as he enters his teens. "Arthur," in "Tom Brown," is a case in point. Mr. Hemyng personifies Religion in "Childe Martin." "He was a nice, amiable, gentle boy—almost too gentle for public school life—too good, too fragile, too *girlish*, as it were, for the rough and stormy existence of Eton. He had been brought up at home with seven sisters. He had no brothers and no male companions. It was not his fault if he was a little *namby-pamby*."† His life is made to consist of hugging a big Bible, and being cruelly bullied. His father was in trade, and the "freemasonry of honour" used to visit him with remarks of this description:—"Your right name is what you don't like to hear, you shop-keeping little

* Butler Burke at Eton, p. 200.

† Ibid., p. 135.

cad, you beastly little counter-jumper.”* Then Abbott “twisted his (Childe Martin’s) arm, and then struck the muscles underneath with his clenched fist, causing his victim considerable pain. Then, in order to diversify the amusement, he struck him in the small of the back, making him gasp for breath.”†

This is Mr. Hemyng’s personification of Religion. It is none the less severe a satire because an unconscious one. It brings out vividly the relative positions of the Englishman and his religion at public schools. Now for its death, tomb, and the inscription, all complete.

To the memory of Childe Martin, aged 11 years, who fell a victim to scarlet fever on the 21st of November, 18—.”‡

Are such characters as these, let us ask, made the representatives of religion to give the British boy a love of God? We know not; but this we do know, that the temper in which these authors write is painfully consistent with the whole system of public schools. Their meagre boy—their religion—is a poor, wretched, blighted, sickly weed, an unwholesome plant, made to sink, and wither, and die, stifled by the luxuriant growth of animal vigour which overpowers it—made for the next world—that means, not made for this. Put him out of the way!—he has got no lungs to breathe withal! The very attempt which Eton makes to draw an Aloysius, to sketch a picture of religion, issues in miserable and melancholy failure—in a sickly abortion, which represents neither God nor man; the exact reverse of what the nation wants, and boys admire, and the artist loves.

And here our limits warn us to make a stop. We have attempted an outline of the present English character; we have shown how the Englishman has come by it—through the action of mere human, natural influences; how it is prized because it *pays*; how Eton brings it to its purest perfection; how the “system” of public schools has grown out of it and reacts upon it; how it is all human; how the character itself in its ultimate analysis is not religious, but animal; how its tendencies are to choke religion, and how religion dwindles away, “gasps for breath,” and sickens by its side; how, in a word, it is developed, loved, cherished, nay, almost revered (and by Englishmen almost universally admired), because it works well in this world—because it is tough and hardy—because it can carry all before it (it is thought) in “the great world of business and society.”

* Butler Burke at Eton, p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 90.

‡ Ibid. p. 248.

The analysis we have been engaged upon has been a sad task to us. It must be profoundly melancholy to any man to witness the foundations of what might be a truly noble character, with many precious natural gifts, with much which might be elevated to grand achievements, with natural strength, natural rectitude, with many tokens of mighty things, and sometimes a display which savours of the generous instinct of a purer spirit, left to run wild, with an inoculation of no higher nature than its own, and growing rank and strong, bringing forth flowers—if it bring them forth at all—which resemble the efforts of thorns and briars—abortive attempts, mere mockeries of sweet perfumes, lovely shapes, and brilliant colouring.

Truth after truth, of choicest scent and hue,
Fades, and in fading stirs an angel's grief,
Unanswer'd here ; for she, once pattern chief
Of faith, my country, now gross-hearted grown,
Waits but to burn the stem before her idol's throne.*

ART. II.—THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA.—ORIGEN.

Origenis Opera Omnia. Ed. De la Rue, accurante J. P. MIGNE. Paris.

Origenes, Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre, von Dr. REDEPENNING. (*Origen* : a History of His Life and Doctrine. By Dr. REDEPENNING). 1841. Bonn.

IN a former article we have given some account of the labours and teaching of Pantænus and Clement in the twenty years after the death of Marcus Aurelius (180—202), during which the Church enjoyed comparative peace. Commodus was not a persecutor, like his philosophic father. Personally, he was a signal instance of the total break-down of philosophy as a training for a Prince Imperial; for whatever advantages the most enlightened methods and the most complete establishment of philosophic tutors could afford were his, probably to his great disgust. But the Church has often found that an imperial philosopher is something even worse than an imperial debauchee. Pertinax and Didius Julianus, who succeeded Commodus, had little time either for philosophy or pleasure, for they followed their

* *Lyra Apostolica*, p. 171, cxxviii.

predecessor, after the violent fashion so popular with conspirators and Prætorians, in less than a twelvemonth. Septimius Severus, the first, and, with one exception, the only Roman Emperor who was a native African, during the earlier years of his reign protected the Christians rather than otherwise. How and why he saw occasion to change we shall have to consider further on.

During these twenty years of tranquillity the great Church of Alexandria had been making 'no little progress. Her children had not been entirely undisturbed. The populace, and sometimes the magistrates, often did not wait for an imperial edict to set upon the Christians, and the commotions that followed the death of Commodus were the occasion of more than one martyr's crown. We learn from Clement of Alexandria, speaking of this very time of comparative quiet, that burnings, beheadings, and crucifixions took place "daily;" whereby he seems to point to some particular local persecutions. But the Alexandrian Church, on the whole, was left in peace, and was rapidly extending herself among the student population of the city, among the Greeks, but, above all, among the poorer classes of the native Egyptians. Christianity seems to have spread in Egypt with a rapidity almost unexampled elsewhere, and historians have taken much pains to point out that this was the effect of the considerable agreement there is between the asceticism of the early Church and that of the native worship. Without discussing the point, we may note that rapidity of extension was the rule, not the exception, when an Apostle was the missionary; and that the Alexandrian Church was founded by direct commission from S. Peter, and, therefore, shared with Rome and Antioch the distinction of being the mother-city of Christianity. Moreover the Nile-valley, which above the Delta is nowhere more than eleven miles in width, contained a teeming population, the whole of which was thoroughly accessible by means of the river itself. For nearly five hundred miles every city and town, every least village and hamlet stood right on the banks of the great water-way; and it is probable that half the inhabitants of Upper Egypt and the Thebaid were often floating on its bosom at one and the same time. The high road that was so serviceable for traffic and pleasure could be made of equal service to religion. How unweariedly the successors of S. Mark must have traversed it from end to end may be read in the history of those lauras and hermitages that at one time were to be found wherever its rocky barriers were indented by a sandy valley, and wherever the old builders of Thebes and Memphis had left a quarried opening in the limestone. There was not a

stronger contrast between these monastic dwellings and the bosom of the gay river than there was between Egyptians Christian and Egyptians Pagan. If the Church's converts rushed into the deserts and the caves, it was not especially because they liked them, but because there was absolutely no other means of getting out of a society not to be matched for immorality except, perhaps, by Pagan Rome at its very worst. Of the number of Christians in Alexandria itself at the commencement of the third century we can only form an approximate judgment. On the one hand, Eusebius tells us that the Church had spread over the whole Thebaid. As the Thebaid was the southern division of Egypt Proper, and, therefore, the most distant from Alexandria, we may safely say as much, at least, for the Delta and Middle Egypt. On the other hand, we are told by Origen that the Christians in the city were not so numerous as the Pagans, or even the Jews. This will not appear surprising if we recollect that the Alexandrian Jews were more numerous, as well as richer and more powerful, than any other Jewish community in the world. We know enough to be quite sure that the Alexandrian Church was working quietly but vigorously. From the heads of the Catechetical School down to the humblest little child that was marked out by baptism in the great city of sin, there was a great work going on. The impulse that Pantænus and Clement were giving was felt downwards and around, and when Origen begins to rise on the scene, we can mark what an advance there has been even in the short twenty years since the death of Marcus Aurelius.

Septimius Severus had reigned for ten years, as we said above, before he began to persecute. He was undoubtedly an able and vigorous emperor; he could meet his enemies and get rid of his friends, bribe the Prætorians and slaughter his prisoners of war, with equal coolness and generally with equal success. In the course of a reign of twenty years he seems to have visited with hostile intent the greater part of his extensive empire, from the Syrtes of Africa, where he was born, to the banks of the Euphrates, and thence to Britain, where he died, at York, A.D. 211. At the time we speak of (198) he had just concluded a brilliant campaign against those pests of the Roman soldiery, the Parthians; and having then engaged the Arabs, still in arms for a chief whose head he had had the pleasure of sending to Rome twelve months before, had got rather the worst of it in two battles. It was between this and the year 202 that he visited Alexandria. There can be no doubt he must have been received at Alexandria with no little triumph by one class of its citizens. Some six years before,

he had restored to the Greek inhabitants their senate and municipal privileges. The Greeks, who, as far as intellect went, were the indisputable rulers of Alexandria, must have been highly elated at being now restored to civil importance; for though their senate was little more than an ornament and their municipal rights confined to holding certain assemblies for the discussion of grievances, still, to have a recognised machinery of wards and tribes and to be called "men of Macedon," as of old, was not without advantage, and was, indeed, all that their fathers had presumed to seek for, even in the days of the lamented Ptolemies. We cannot doubt, therefore, that by the Greeks Severus was received with much enthusiasm, and he, on his part, seems to have been equally satisfied with his reception, for we find that he enriched Alexandria with a temple of Rhea, and with public baths which he named after himself. But more came of this visit than compliments or temples. It was an hour of favour for the Greeks; the chief among them were also the chiefs and ruling spirits of the University; we know they must have come across Christianity during the preceding twenty years in many ways, but chiefly as a teaching that was gaining ground yearly among their best men; as philosophers, we know they loathed it; as worshippers of the immortal Myths, they were burning to put it down. Does it seem in any way connected with these facts that Severus at this very time changes his policy of mildness, and issues a decree forbidding, under severest penalties, all conversions to Christianity or Judaism? There is something suggestive in the juxta-position of facts, and it is not at all impossible that the commencement of the fifth persecution was a compliment to Clement of Alexandria. Severus, indeed, must have frequently come into contact with Christianity himself, during the three or four years he spent in Syria and the East; he could not have visited Antioch, Edessa, and Cæsarea, without being obliged to notice the development of the Church. The Jews, too, had given him a great deal of trouble, which may account for that part of the edict which affected them, and perhaps the Montanist fanatics had helped to irritate him against the name of Christian. However these things may be, the prohibition, though apparently moderate in its scope, was the signal for the outburst of a tremendous persecution. Lætus, the Prefect of Alexandria, was so zealous in his work, that it is impossible not to suspect that he was acting under the very eye of his imperial master. He was not content with torturing and slaying in the city itself, but sent his emissaries up the Nile to the very extremity of the Thebaid to hunt up the Christians and send

them by boat-loads to the capital for judgment and punishment. Numbers of the Alexandrian Christians fled to Palestine and elsewhere on the first intimation of danger. Pantænus, who had returned from his Indian mission, had perhaps already left Alexandria; but Clement was at the head of the Catechisms, and he was of the number of those who fled. The great school was for a time broken up. The functions of the Church were suspended for want of ministers, or prevented by the impossibility of meeting in safety. It was taught in the Alexandrian Church that if they were persecuted in one city, they should flee into another; and, just at this time, the Montanist error, that it was unlawful to flee from persecution, caused this teaching to be acted upon with less hesitation than usual; and so, in the year 202, Christians in Alexandria, from being a comparatively flourishing community, became a proscribed and secret sect.

It would be very far from the truth, however, to suppose that the teachings of the Catechetical School had not been able to form martyrs. We know that multitudes stood up for their faith and shed their blood for it at Alexandria, during the first years of this Persecution, and this amidst horrors so unusual even with persecutors, that it was thought they portended the coming of the last day. The name of Potamiana alone will serve to raise associations sufficient to picture both the heroism of the confessors and the enormities of the tyrants. But there is another name with which we are more nearly concerned at present. Leonides, the father of Origen, was one of those Christians who had not fled from the persecution. He was an inhabitant of Alexandria, a man of some position and substance, and when the troubles began he was living in Alexandria with his wife and family. It was not long before he was marked down by Lætus and dragged to prison. The martyr's crown was now within his grasp; but he left behind him in his desolate home another who was burning to share it by his side. His son, Origen, was not yet seventeen when his father was torn away by the Roman soldiers, and in spite of the entreaties of his mother, he insisted upon following him to prison. His mother finally kept him beside her by a device which may raise a smile in this generation. She "hid all his clothes," says Eusebius, and so compelled him to stop at home. But his zeal was all aroused and on fire, and, indeed, in this, the earliest incident known to us of his life, we seem to read the zeal and fire of the man that was to be. He sent a message to his father in these words, "Be sure not to waver on *our* account." The exact words seem to have been handed down to us, and Eusebius, who gives them, probably

received them from Origen's own disciples in Cæsarea of Palestine. The boy well knew what would be the martyr's chief and only anxiety in his prison. The thought of the wife and seven young children whom he was leaving desolate would be a far bitterer martyrdom than the Roman prisons. But Leonides gloriously persevered, confessed the faith, and was beheaded, while the whole of his property was confiscated to the Emperor.

Origen, as we have said, was not quite seventeen years old at his father's martyrdom, having been born about the year 185. Both his father and mother were Christians, and, apparently, had dwelt a long time in Alexandria. He had therefore been brought up from his infancy in that careful Christian training which it is the pride and joy of a good and earnest Christian father to bestow upon his son. The traces of this training, as we find them in Eusebius, are touching in the extreme. Leonides, to whom the teachings of Clement had made the Holy Scriptures a very fountain of life and sweetness, made them the principal means of the education of his son. Every day the child repeated to his father a portion of the Holy Books, and was instructed according to his capacity. Knowing what, in after life, was to be Origen's connection with the Holy Scriptures, we are not surprised to find that his father soon began to experience some difficulty in answering his questions. The boy, with true Alexandrian instinct, was not content with the bare letter of the Book; he would know its hidden meaning and prophetic sense. Leonides discouraged these questions and speculations, not, it would seem, because he disapproved of them, but because he sensibly thought them premature in so young a child. But in the secret of his heart he was full of joy to see the ardour, eagerness, and amazing quickness of his dear child, and often, when the boy was asleep, would he uncover his breast and reverently kiss it, as the temple of the Holy Spirit. It is of very great importance for the right comprehension of the great Origen to bear in view this picture of his tender youth, and to reflect that he was no convert from heathenism, no Christianized philosopher, whose early notions might from time to time be expected to crop up in the field of his orthodoxy, but a Christian child, born and bred in the Church's bosom, brought up by a father of unquestioned ability, who died a martyr and is honoured as a saint. Origen began to think rightly as soon as he could think at all; his early education left him nothing to forget. As he grew up and began to be familiar with Alexandria the Beautiful, he received that subtle education of the eye and imagination that every Alexandrian, like every Athe-

nian, succeeded to as an heirloom. But with the heathen philosophers he had nothing to do, and it may be questioned whether he ever entered the walls of the Museum. His father had not neglected to teach him the ordinary branches of Greek learning. He attended the lectures of Clement, those brilliant and winning discourses, half apology, half exhortation, that he himself was afterwards to emulate so well. He heard Pantænus, also, after the venerable teacher had returned from his Indian mission. We may be sure that he dreaded worse than poison the society of the Pagan youth of the university; this his subsequent conduct proves. But he had his circle of friends, and among them was a young man, somewhat older than himself, who was hereafter to leave an undying name as S. Alexander of Jerusalem. Thus, by ear and eye, by master and by fellow-student, by his father's labour, and by the workings of his own wonderful intellect and indomitable will, he was formed into a man. His education came to a premature end; but his father's martyrdom, though to outward seeming it left him a destitute orphan, really hardened the boy of seventeen into the man and the hero.

"When his father was martyred," continues Eusebius, writing, in all probability, from the relation of those who had heard Origen's own account, "he was left an orphan, with his mother and six young brothers and sisters, being of the age of seventeen. All his father's property was confiscated to the Emperor's treasury, and they were in the utmost destitution; but God's providence took care of Origen." A rich and illustrious lady of Alexandria received him into her house. Whether this lady was professedly a Christian, a Pagan, or a heretic, history does not say. She can hardly have been a Pagan, though it is not impossible that a philosophic and liberal Pagan lady should have taken a fancy to help such a youth as Origen. It is not likely that she was a heretic, for in that case Origen would never have entered her door. Thanks to the Gnostics, heretics in those days were looked upon in Alexandria as more to be dreaded than Pagans. She was probably, by outward profession at least, a Christian, "illustrious," says the historian, "for what she had done, and illustrious in every other way." What she had done we are not permitted even to guess; but one fact in her history we do know, and it is very significant. She had living in her house, on the footing of an adopted son, one Paul, a native of Antioch, and one of the chiefs of the Alexandrian heretics. It is certain that Origen's patroness must have had either very uncertain or very easy notions of Christianity, if she could lend her house, her money, and her influence to an arch-heretic, who had come from Syria

to trouble the Church of Alexandria, as Basilides and Valentine had come before him. Gnosticism had probably lost ground in the city, under the eloquent attacks of S. Clement. This Paul was a man of great eloquence, and his reputation attracted great numbers to hear him, not only of heretics, but also of Christians. He came from Antioch, the head-quarters of an unknown number of Gnostic sects, and, with the usual instinct of false teachers, he had "led captive" this Alexandrian lady. Mark, of infamous memory, had already done the same thing by others, and perhaps by her, and Paul had succeeded to his position and was now the rival of the head of the Catechisms. Such a state of things makes it easier to understand why S. Clement, in his *Stromata*, calls those who lean to heresy "traitors to Christ," and compares perverts to the companions of Ulysses in the sty of Circe, and why he makes the very treating with heretics to be nothing less than desertion in the soldier of Christ. It does seem a little strange, at first sight, that the uncompromising Origen should have consented to receive assistance from one whose orthodoxy must have been in such bad odour. The difficulty grows less, however, if we consider the circumstances. It was in the very heat of a terrible persecution, when the canons of the Church must have been suspended. Origen had lost his father, and had nowhere to turn for bare subsistence. We can hardly wonder if, in such a strait as this, he asked few questions when the charitable lady wished to take him in. But when the grief and agitation of his orphaned state had somewhat subsided, and when the persecutors had begun to slacken their fury, we may suppose that he began to examine the harbour of his refuge, and that it pleased him not. He was under the same roof as Paul of Antioch, a heretic and a leader of heretics; but never, young as he was, could he be induced to associate with him in prayer, or in any way that could violate the canons of the Church as far as it was possible to keep them in such times. "From his childhood," says his biographer, "he kept the canons, and execrated the teachings of heretics;" and he tells us that this last phrase is Origen's own. And it seems that he took the most energetic measures to get away from a companionship that he must have loathed. He had been well instructed, as we have said, by his father in the ordinary branches of education. After his father's death he again applied himself to study with greater ardour than before, for he had an object in view now. It was not long before he was offering himself as a public teacher of those sciences that are designated by the general term "Grammatica." It was the first public step in a life that was afterwards

to be little less than the entire history of the Eastern Church. He was not yet eighteen, but there was no help for it. He must have bread, and he could not eat of the loaf that was shared by Paul of Antioch. Early writers lay much stress on this first exhibition of orthodox zeal in him who was afterwards to be the "hammer" of heretics, from Egypt to Greece. Certain it is that his conduct as a boy was the same as his sentiments when he was in his sixtieth year. "To err in morals," he wrote in his commentary on Matthew, at Cæsarea, forty years after his first essay as a teacher of grammar, "to err in morals is bad, but to err in dogma and to contradict Holy Writ is much worse." If in after life he was to be so singularly earnest and so unaffectedly devout, so enthusiastic for the Gospel, so eager in exploring the depths of sacred science, and so unwavering in his faith, all this was but the growth and development of what was already springing in his soul, in those early years of his trials and zeal. The strong will was already trying its first flights, the sensitive heart was being schooled to throw all its motive power into duty, and the quick, clear apprehension and the wonderful memory for which he was to be so famous, were already beginning to show what they would one day be.

Origen was now a teacher of grammar and the sciences, but he had not kept school for many months when his teachings took a turn that he can hardly have anticipated. His text-books were the common Pagan historians, poets, and philosophers that have been thumbed by the school-boy from that generation to this. It was no part of Origen's character to leave his hearers in error when plain speaking would prevent it; and so it happened that his exposition of his author often took in hand, not merely the parts of speech, but the doctrine. Though he was only a schoolmaster by profession, his scholars soon found out he was a Christian, and a Christian of uncommon power and clear-sightedness. The catechetical school was closed; masters and scholars were scattered in flight or in concealment. It was not long, therefore, before the young teacher found himself applied to by first one heathen and then another, who, under other circumstances, would have applied to the school of the Catechisms. Among these were Plutarchus, who soon afterwards showed how a young Alexandrian student could die a glorious martyr; and Heraclas, his brother, who, after his conversion, left everything to remain with his master, became his assistant and successor in his catechetical work, and finally died Patriarch of Alexandria. These were the firstfruits of his zeal for souls. Many others followed; and as the persecution was somewhat abating, Demetrius,

Bishop of Alexandria, looking round for men to resume the work of the schools, saw no one better fitted to be entrusted with its direction than Origen himself. He was accordingly, though not yet eighteen, appointed the successor of Clement.

Lætus, Prefect of Alexandria, who had exerted himself so strenuously to please Severus when the persecution commenced, had now been recalled; probably he had reaped the reward of his zeal, and was promoted. His successor, Aquila, signalized his entering upon office by an activity that outdid that of Lætus himself. The persecution, that had calmed down a little towards the end of the first year and when Lætus was leaving, now raged with redoubled fury. We have already said that the authoritative tradition and, in great measure, also the practice of the Alexandrian Church, was flight, at a time like this. Origen, however, was very far from fleeing; never at any time of his life did he display such fearless boldness, such energetic contempt for the enemy, as during these years of blood, from 204 to 211. There was no prison so well-guarded, no dungeon so deep, that he could not hold communication with the confessors of Christ. He went up to the tribunals with them, and stood beside them at the interrogatory and at the torture. He went back with them in a sort of defiant triumph, after sentence of death had been pronounced. He walked undauntedly by their side up to the stake and the beheading block, and kissed them and bade them adieu when it was time for them to die. It is no wonder that Eusebius sets down his own safety to a miraculous interposition of the right hand of God. Once, as he stood by a dying martyr, embracing him as he expired, the Alexandrian mob set on him with stones and nearly killed him; how he escaped none could tell. Again and again the persecutors tried to seize him; as often ("it is impossible," says the historian, "to tell how often") was he delivered from their hands. He was nowhere safe: no sooner did the mob get a suspicion of where he was than they surrounded the house, and hounded in the soldiers to drag him out. He fled from house to house; perhaps he was assisted to escape by some of his numerous friends; perhaps he hid himself, as S. Athanasius in the next century did, in some of those underground wells and cisterns with which every house in Alexander's city was provided, and then sought other quarters when the mob had gone off. But it was not long before he was again discovered. The numbers that came to hear him soon let the infuriated Pagans know where their victim was, and he was again besieged and hunted out. Once, S. Epiphanius relates, he was caught, apparently by a street-mob, with some of the low

Egyptian priests as their leaders. It was near the Egyptian quarter of the city; perhaps, even, he was visiting some poor native convert in the dirty streets of the Rhacôtis itself. If so, the name of Origen would have been enough to empty the whole quarter of its pariah race, and bring them yelling and cursing into the Heptastadion. They showed him no mercy; they abused him horribly; they beat him and bruised him; they dragged him along the ground. But before killing him outright, the idea seized them that they should make him deny his religion, and at the same time make a shameful exhibition of himself. There must have been Greeks in the crowd, for Egyptians would never have had patience to spare him so long. The Serapeion, however, was at hand, and thither they dragged him. As they hauled him along, "they shaved his head," says S. Epiphanius,—that is, they tried to make him look like the Egyptian priests, who were distinguished by a womanish smoothness of face; and we may imagine that they did it with no gentle hands. When at length the rushing mob had surged up the steps of the great temple, their victim in the midst of them, they set him on his feet, and gave him some palm-branches, telling him to act the priest, and distribute them to the votaries of Serapis. The palm, we know, was a favourite tree with the Egyptian priests; it was sculptured and painted on the walls of their huge temples, and it was borne in the hands of worshippers on solemn festivals. On the present occasion there were, probably, priests of one rank or another standing before the vestibule of the Serapeion, ready to supply those who should enter. It was, therefore, the work of a moment to seize the stock of one of these ministers, and force Origen to take his place. If they anticipated the pleasure of seeing the hated Christian teacher humiliated to the position of an *ostiarium* of an idolatrous temple, they were never more mistaken in their lives. Origen took the palms, and began, without hesitation, to distribute them; but, as he did so, he cried out, in a voice as loud and steady as if neither suffering nor danger could affect him, "Take the palms, good people!—not the palms of idols, but the palms of Christ!" How he escaped after this piece of daring, we are only left to conjecture. Perhaps the Roman troops came suddenly on the scene to quell the riot; and as they hated the dwellers in the Rhacôtis almost as much as the latter hated Origen, the neighbourhood of the Serapeion would have been speedily cleared of Egyptians. However it came about, Origen was saved.

Meanwhile, he saw his own scholars daily going to death. The young student Plutarchus fell among the first victims of

Aquila's new vigour ; Origen was by his side when he was led to execution, was recognized by the mob, and once more narrowly escaped with his life. Serenus, another of his disciples, was burnt ; Heraclides, a catechumen, and Hero, who had just been baptized, were beheaded ; a second Serenus, after enduring many torments, suffered in the same way. A woman named Heræis, one of his converts, was burnt before she could be baptized, receiving the baptism of fire, as her instructor said. Another who is numbered among his disciples is Basilides, the soldier who protected S. Potamiana from the insults of the mob, and whom she converted by appearing to him three nights afterwards. We are told that the brethren, and we know who would be foremost among the brethren in such a case, visited him in prison as soon as they heard of his wonderful and unexpected confession. He told them his vision, was baptized, and the following day died a martyr. Probably it was Origen who addressed to him the few hurried words of instruction there was time to say. "All the martyrs," says Eusebius, "whether he knew them or knew them not, he ministered to with the most eager affection." His reputation, it may well be conceived, suffered no diminution as these things came to be known. The horrors of the persecution could not keep scholars away from him, nor prevent increasing numbers from coming to seek him. Many of the unbelieving Pagans, full of admiration for a holiness of life and a heroism they could not comprehend, came to his instructions ; and even literary Greeks, who had gone through the curriculum of the Museum, and were deeply versed in Platonic myths and Pythagorean theories of mortification, came to listen to this fearless young philosopher, in whom they found a learning that could not be gainsaid, combined with a practical contempt for the things of the body that was quite unknown in their own schools.

The persecution seems to have died down and gone out towards the year 211, nine years after its commencement. Origen's labours became the more extraordinary in proportion as he had freer scope for pursuing them. The feature in his life at this time, which is most characteristic of the time and the city, and which more than anything else attracted the cultivated heathens to listen to him, was his severe asceticism. Times of persecution may be considered to dispense with asceticism ; but Origen did not think so. It was a saying of his master, S. Clement, and, indeed, appears to have been a common proverb in that reformed school of heathen philosophy, which resulted in Neo-Platonism,—“As your words, so be your life.” A philosopher in Alexandria at that time, if he

would not be thought to belong to an effete race of thinkers who had long been left behind, or who only survived in the well-paid and well-fed professorships of the university, was of necessity a man whose strict and sober living corresponded to the high and serious truths which he considered it his mission to utter. S. Clement did not forget this, either in principle or in practice, when he undertook to win the heathen men of science to Christ. Origen, born a Christian, made a teacher apparently by chance and in the confusion of a persecution, cared little, in the first instance, for what pagan philosophy would think of him. The fact that all who pretended to be philosophers pretended also to asceticism may, indeed, have caused him to embrace a life of denial more as a matter of course. But the holy Gospels and the teachings of Clement were the reasons of his asceticism. It is amazing that Protestant writers, when they write of the asceticism of the early Church, can see in it nothing but the reflection of Buddhism, or Judaism, or of the tenets of Pythagoras, and that they always seem nervously glad to prove by the assistance of the Egyptian climate or the Platonic hatred of matter, that it was not the carrying out of the law of Christ, but merely a self-imposed burden. Climate, doubtless, has great influence on food, and English dinners would no more suit an Egyptian sun than would the two regulation *paximatia* of the Abbot Moses in Cassian be enough for even the most willing of English Cistercians. But why go to climate, to Plato, to Pythagoras, and to Buddha, to account for what is one of the most striking recommendations of the Gospels? We need not stop to inquire the reason, but we may be sure that a child who had been taught the holy Scriptures by heart would not be unlikely to know something of their teaching. His biographer tells us expressly, with regard to several of his acts of mortification, that they were done in the endeavour to carry out literally our Lord's commands. And yet it is very remarkable, and a trait of the times, that Eusebius, in describing his mode of life, uses the word *philosophy* three times, where we should use asceticism. Origen, soon after being appointed head of the Catechetical School, found he could not do his duty by his hearers as thoroughly as he could wish, on account of his other occupation of teacher of grammar. He therefore resolved to give it up. It was his only means of subsistence, but he might reasonably have expected "to live by the Gospel" as long as he was in such a post as chief catechist. If he had expected this he would not have been disappointed, for there would have been no lack of charity. But he had an entirely different view of the matter. He would be a burden to no

one, and would live a life of the strictest poverty. Simple, straightforward, and great, here as ever, we may conceive how he would appreciate the fetters of a rich man's patronage. But, if we may trust the utterances of his whole life, his love for holy poverty was such that, while it makes some refer once more to Pythagoras, to a Catholic it rather suggests S. Francis of Assisi. "I tremble," he said thirty years afterwards, "when I think how Jesus commands his children to leave all they have. For my own part I plead guilty to my accusers, and I pronounce my own sentence; I will not conceal my guiltiness lest I become doubly guilty. I will preach the precepts of the Lord, though I am conscious of not having followed them myself. Let us now at least lose no time in becoming true priests of the Lord, whose inheritance is not on earth but in heaven." Such language from one who can hardly be said to have possessed anything during his whole life can only be explained on one hypothesis. In order, therefore, at once to secure his independence in God's work, and to oblige himself to practise rigorous poverty, he made a sacrifice which none but a poor student can appreciate. He sold his manuscripts, and secured to himself, from the sale, a sum of four oboli a day, which was to be his whole income. This sum, which was about the ordinary pay of a common sailor, who had his food and lodging provided for him, was little enough to live upon; but, miserable as it was, Origen must have paid a dear premium to obtain it. Those manuscripts of "ancient authors" were probably the fruits and the assistance of his early studies; he must have written many of them under the eye of his martyred father. He had "laboured with care and love to write them out fairly," we are told, and doubtless he prized them at once as a scholar prizes his library and a laborious worker the work of his hands. For many years, probably until he went to Rome in 211, he continued to receive his twopence or threepence every day from the person who had bought his books. But we cease in great part to wonder how little he lived on when we know how he lived. In obedience to our Lord's command, and in opposition to the prevailing practice of all but the poorest classes, he wore the tunic single, and as for the pallium, he seems either to have dispensed with it altogether, or only to have worn it whilst teaching. For many years he went entirely barefoot. He fasted continually from all that was not absolutely necessary to keep him alive; he never touched wine; he worked hard all day in teaching and visiting the poor; and after studying what we should call Theology the greater part of the night, he did not go to bed, but took a

little rest on the floor. This "vehemently philosophic" life, as Eusebius calls it, reduced him in time, as might have been expected, to a mere wreck; insufficient food and scanty clothing brought on severe stomachic complaints, which nearly caused his death. It is not to be supposed that his disciples and the Church in general looked on with indifference whilst he practised these austerities. On the contrary, he was solicited over and over again to receive assistance and to take care of himself; and many were even somewhat offended because he refused their well-meant offers. But Origen had chosen to put his hand to the plough, and he would not have been Origen if he had turned back. It is probable, indeed, that he somewhat moderated his austerities when his health began to give way seriously; but hard work and hard living were his lot to the end, and the name of Adamantine, which he received at this time, and which all ages and countries have confirmed to him, shows what the popular impression was of what he actually went through. As might have been expected, a man of such singleness and determination had many imitators. We have seen that the very Pagan philosophers came to listen to him. The young scholars whom he instructed, and many of whom he converted, did more than listen to him: they joined him, and imitated as nearly as they could what Eusebius again calls the "philosophy" of his life. It was no barren aping of externals, such as might have been seen going on a little way off at the Museum; he, on his part, taught them deep and earnest lessons in the deepest and most earnest of all philosophies; they, on theirs, proved that his words were power by the severest of all tests—they stood firm in the horrors of a fearful persecution, and more than one of them witnessed to them by a cruel death.

As long as the persecution lasted, anything like regularity and completeness in a work like that of Origen was clearly impossible. But a persecution at Alexandria, though generally furious as long as it lasted, happily seldom lasted very long. Popular opinion was, no doubt, very bitter against Christianity. But popular opinion was one thing; the will of the Prince-Governor another. Moreover, the popular opinion of the Greek philosophers was generally diametrically opposed to that of their Roman masters, and the beliefs and traditions of the Rhacôtis tended to the instant extermination of the Jews; and though these four antagonistic elements could, upon occasion, so far forget their differences as to unite in an onslaught against the Christians, yet, before long, quarrels rose and riots ensued among the allied parties to such an

extent that the legionaries had no choice but to clear the streets in the most impartial manner. Again, it is quite certain that the Christian party included in it not a few men of rank; and, what is more important, of power and authority. This we know from the trouble S. Dionysius, one of Origen's scholars, afterwards had with many such persons who had "lapsed" in the Decian persecution. As everything, therefore, depended on the humour of the Governor, and as the Governor was, as other men, liable to be influenced by bribes, suggestions, and caprice, a furious persecution might suddenly die out, and the Church begin to enjoy comparative peace at the very time when things looked worst. Until the year 211, "Adamantius" taught, studied, prayed, and fasted amidst disturbance, martyrdoms, and fleeings from house to house; but that year wrought a change, not only in Alexandria, but over the whole world. It was simply the year of the death of Septimus Severus at York, and of the accession of Caracalla and Geta; but this was an event which, if precedents were to be trusted, invited all the nations that recognized the Roman eagle to be ready for any change, however unreasonable, beginning with the Senate, and ending with the Christians. It was, probably, in this same year, 211, that Origen took advantage of the restoration of tranquillity to visit the city and Church of Rome. It would seem that this episode of his journey to Rome has not been sufficiently considered in the greater part of the accounts of his life. Protestant writers, as may be expected, pass it over quietly, either barely mentioning it, or, if they do put a gloss upon it, confining themselves to generalities about the interchange of ideas or the antiquity and renown of the Roman Church. But there is evidently more in it than this. Origen was just twenty-six years of age: though so young, he was already famous as a teacher and a holy liver in the most learned of cities, and one of the most ascetical of churches. His work was immense, and daily increasing. On the cessation of the persecution, the great School was to be re-organized, and put once more into that thorough working order which had made it so effective under Pantænus and Clement. Yet, just at this busy crisis, he hurries off to Rome, stays there a short time, and hurries back again. In the first place, why go at all? What could Rome or any other church give him that he had not already at Alexandria? Not scientific learning, certainly; not a systematic organization of work; not reverence for Holy Scripture; not the method of confuting learned philosophy. Again: why go specially to Rome? Was there not a high road, easy and comparatively

short, to Cæsarea of Palestine, and would he not find there facilities enough for the "interchange of thought?" For there, about fifteen years before, had assembled one of the first councils ever held since the council of Jerusalem. Was there not Jerusalem, the cradle of the Church? It was then, indeed, shorn of its glory, both spiritual and historical; for it was subject, at least, not superior, to Cæsarea, and was known to the empire by the name of Aelia Capitolina; but its aged bishop was a worker of miracles. Was there not Antioch, the great central see of busy, intellectual Syria, the see of St. Theophilus, wherein saintly bishops, on the one hand, and Marcionite heresy and Paschal schism on the other, kept the traditions of the Faith bright and polished? Were there not the Seven Churches? Was there not many a "mother-city" between the Mediterranean and the mountain ranges where Apostolic teachings were strong yet, and Apostolic men yet ruled? Origen's motive in going to "see Rome" is given us by himself, or, rather, by his biographer in his words; but, unfortunately, in such an ambiguous way that it is almost useless as an argument; he wished, says Eusebius, "to see the very ancient Church of Rome." The word we have translated "very ancient" (*ἀρχαιότατην*), may also mean, as we need not say, "first in dignity." It is hardly worth while to argue upon it, but it will not fail to strike the reader that Jerusalem and Antioch, not to mention other sees, were both older than Rome, if age was the only recommendation. Origen's visit to Rome, then, is a very remarkable event in his life, for it shows undoubtedly that the chief of the greatest School of the Church found he required something which could only be obtained in Rome, and that something can only have been an approach to the chief and supreme depositary of tradition. He was at the very beginning of his career, and he could begin no better than by invoking the blessing of that Rock of the Church of whom his master, Clement, had taught him to think so nobly and lovingly. We shall see that, many a year after this, in the midst of troubles and calumnies, when his great life was nearly closed, the same see of Peter received the professions and obedience of his failing voice, as it had witnessed and blessed the ardour of his youth. He was not, indeed, the first who, though already great in his own country, had been drawn towards a greatness which something told them was without a rival. Three quarters of a century before Rome had attracted from far-off Jerusalem that great S. Hegesippus, the founder of Church History, whose works are lost, but whose fame remains. A convert from Judaism, he left his native city, travelled to Rome and

sojourned there for twenty years, busily learning and committing to writing those practices and traditions of the Roman Church, which he afterwards appears to have disseminated all over the East, and which he conveyed, towards the end of his life, to his own Jerusalem, where he died. From Assyria and beyond the Tigris the "perfume of Rome" had enticed the great Tatian,—happy if, on his return, he had still kept pure that faith which, at Rome, he defended so well against Crescens the cynic. A great mind and a widely-cultivated genius found the sphere of its rest in Rome, when S. Justin finished his wanderings there and sealed the workings of his active intellect by shedding his blood at the bidding of the ruling clique of Stoics—"philosophus et martyr," as the old martyrologies call him. A famous name, too, is that of Rhodon, of Asia, well-known for his steady and able defence of the faith against Marcionites and other heretics. These, and such as these, had come from the world's ends to visit the great Apostolic See before Origen's day dawned. But there were others and as great whom he may actually have met in the city, either on a visit like himself, or because they were members of the Roman clergy. There was the great Carthaginian, Tertullian, who, for many years, lived, learned, and wrote in Rome; his works show how well he knew the Roman Church, and how often afterwards he had occasion, in his polemical battles, to allude to the "*Ecclesia transmarina*," as Africa called Rome. A meeting between Origen and Tertullian is a very suggestive idea; the only misfortune is, that we have no warrant whatever for supposing it beyond the bare possibility. But by naming Tertullian we suggest one view, at least, of the ecclesiastical society which Origen would meet when he visited Rome. Another celebrated man, whom there is more likelihood that Origen did meet, is the convert Roman lawyer, Minucius Felix, who employed his recognised talents and trained skill in vigorous apologetic writings, one of which we still possess. A third was the priest Caius, one of the Roman clergy, famed as the adversary of Proclus the Montanist, unless he had already started on his missionary career as Regionary Bishop. Finally, there was S. Hippolytus, who, like Caius, was from the school of S. Irenæus and had come from Lyons to Rome, where he seems to have been no unworthy representative of his teacher's zeal against heretics. Nearly every step of the life of S. Hippolytus is encumbered by the ruin of a learned theory or the useless rubbish of an abandoned position; but he was, as far as we can conjecture, the chief scientific adviser of the Roman pontiffs in the measures they took at this time regarding Easter and against the Noetians.

Until scientific men have settled their disputes as to who was the author of the *Philosophumena*, or *Treatise against All Heresies*, little more can be said about S. Hippolytus. The *Treatise* itself, however, whose recovery some twenty years ago excited so much interest, must have had an author, and it is nearly certain the author must have been one of the Roman clergy at this very time. It is still more certain that the matters therein discussed must represent very completely one view of Church matters at Rome in the early part of the third century; and, therefore, even if Origen did not meet the author in person, he must have met many who thought as he did. Now it is rather interesting to read the *Philosophumena* in this light, and to conjecture what Origen would think of some of its views. The leading idea of the work, which is not even yet extant complete, is to prove that all heresies have sprung from Greek philosophy. This it attempts to do by detailing, first, the systems of the philosophers, then those of the heretics, and showing their mutual connection. The scandalous attack on S. Callistus, in the ninth book, may or may not be an interpolation by a later hand; if not, the author must have been much more ingenious than reputable. There is no denying the historical and literary value of the *Treatise*; but where it professes to draw deductions and to give philosophical analyses of system, it seems of comparatively moderate worth. For instance, the author's analysis and appreciation of the philosophy of Aristotle is little better than a libel on the great "maestro di lor chi sanno;" and Basilides, though doubtless a clever personage in his way, can hardly have taken the trouble to go so far for the small amount of philosophy that seasons his fantastical speculations. But a general opinion resembling the opinion maintained in the *Treatise* seems to have been common in the West; and when Tertullian says of the philosophy of Plato that it was "hæreticorum omnium condimentarium," he was doubtless expressing the idea of many besides himself. To Origen, fresh from the school of Clement and the atmosphere of Alexandria, such language must have sounded startling, to say the least, and we cannot help feeling he would be rather sorry, if not indignant, to hear the great names he had been taught to think of with so much admiration and compassion, unfeelingly caricatured into a relationship of paternity with such men as the founders of Gnosticism. He does not appear to have been very familiar yet with the Greek systems; they had not come specially in his way, though he had heard of them in the Christian schools, and there is little doubt that he had already seen the necessity of studying them more

closely, as he actually did on his return to Alexandria. What effect the views of the Western Church had on his teaching, and how he treated the philosophers, we shall have to consider in the sequel. Meanwhile, his stay at Rome was over; he had studied the faith and heresy, discipline and schism, church-organization and sectarian rebellion, in the most important centre of the whole Church, and his school at Alexandria was awaiting him, to reap the benefit of his journey.

On the return of Origen to Alexandria, it would almost appear as if he had wished to decline, for a time, the office of chief of the Catechisms. The historian tells us that he only resumed it at the strongly-expressed desire of his bishop, Demetrius, who was anxious for the "profit and advantage of the brethren." Perhaps he wished for greater leisure than such a post would permit of, in order to carry into execution certain projects that were forming in his mind. But neither the Patriarch nor his scholars would hear of his giving up, and so he had to settle to his work again; "which he did," says Eusebius, "with the greatest zeal," as he did everything. From this time, with one or two short interruptions, he lived and taught in Alexandria for twenty years. His life as an authoritative teacher and "master in Israel" may be said to commence from this point. It was an epoch resembling in some degree that other epoch, thirty years before, when Pantænus had been called upon to take the charge of chief teacher in the Alexandrian church. Now, as then, the winter of a persecution had passed, and the season was sunny and promising. Now, as then, men were high in hope, and set to work with valiant hearts to repair the breaches the struggle had left, and to restore to the rock-built fortress that glory and comeliness that became her so well; but with which, if need was, she could securely dispense. But there was no slight difference between 180 and 211. The tide of Christianity had risen perceptibly all over the Church; most of all on the shores of its greatest scientific centre. The possibility of appealing to those who had heard the Apostles had long been past, but now even the disciples of Polycarp, Simeon, and Ignatius had disappeared; instead of Irenæus there was Hippolytus, and Demetrius of Alexandria was the eleventh successor of St. Mark. Heretics had multiplied, questions had been asked, tradition was developing itself, dogma was being fixed. The form of teaching was, therefore, in process of change as other things changed. Greater precision, more "positive theology," a more constant look-out for what authority had said or might say,—these necessities would make the teacher's office more difficult, even if more definite. The position of the

Church toward its enemies, also, was sensibly changing. The "gainsayers" were not of the same class as had been addressed by S. Theophilus or S. Justin. The state of things had grown more distinctly marked. Christianity was no longer an idea that might, in a burst of noble rhetoric, be made to set on fire, for a moment, even the camp of the enemy. It was now known to the Gentile world as a stern and unyielding praxis; susceptible, perhaps, of scientific and literary treatment, but quite distinct from both science and letters. Enthusiastic but timid *dilettanti* had lost their enthusiasm, and gave full scope to their fears. Amiable philosophers took back the right hand of fellowship, and retreated behind those who, by a special instinct, had always refused to be amiable, and now thought themselves more justified than ever. On the Christian side the war had lost much of the adventure which accompanies the first dashing inroads into an enemy's country. Surprises were not so easy, systematic opposition was frequent, and their writers were obliged to fight by tactics, and in the prosaic array of argument for argument. Documents, moral testimony, institutions, were the objects of attack from without. The Apóstles were vilified, faith was proved to be irrational, the Bible was ranked with Syrian impostures and Jewish charm-books. And here, in the matter of the Bible, was a mighty enterprise for the Christian teacher. The Canon had not yet been officially promulgated. A generation that would despise an apocryphal book of Homer or a false Orphic hymn would not be easily satisfied with the credentials of a religion. Great, then, would be that Christian teacher who should at once teach the faithful, and yet not "take away from" the faith; win the philosophers, and yet fight them hand to hand; and give to the world a critical edition of the Bible, yet hold fast to ancient tradition. Such was the work of Origen.

He began by external organization; he divided the multitudes that flocked to the Catechisms into two grand classes; one of those who were commencing, another of those who were more advanced. The former class he gave to his first convert, Heraclas; the latter he kept to himself. Heraclas was "skilled in theology," and "in other respects a very eloquent man;" and, moreover, he was "fairly conversant with philosophy," three qualifications in an Alexandrian catechist, none of which could be dispensed with. In any case the division was a matter of absolute necessity, for these extraordinary Alexandrian scholars, models and patterns that deserve to be imitated more extensively than they have been, gave him no respite and kept no regular school-hours, but

crowded in and out "from morning till night;" "not even a breathing-space did they afford him," says his biographer. In such circumstances theological study and scriptural labours were out of the question, even if he had been the man of adamant that his admirers, with the true Alexandrian passion for nicknames, had already begun to call him. He therefore looked about among "his familiars," those of his disciples who had attached themselves to him and lived with him a life of study and asceticism; and from them he chose out Heraclas, the brother of the martyred Plutarchus, to be the chief associate of his work.

It need not be again mentioned that Origen's work, as that of Pantænus and of Clement before him, had three classes of persons to deal with, catechumens, heretics, and philosophers. His dealings with the heretics and philosophers will be treated of more appropriately when we come to consider his journeys, the most important of which occurred after the expiration of the twenty years with which we are now concerned. As the School of Alexandria was chiefly and primarily connected with the Catechumens, the account of the twenty years of his presidency will naturally be concerned chiefly and primarily with the latter, that is to say, with those whom that great School undertook to instruct in faith and discipline. And here we approach and stand close beneath one side of that monumental fame that bears upon it for all generations the name of Origen. The neophytes of Alexandria were chiefly taught out of one Book; it was the custom handed from teacher to teacher; each held up the Book and explained it, according to the "unvarying tradition of the ancients." For two hundred and ten years the work had gone on; but time has destroyed nearly every trace of what was written and spoken. For the first time since S. Mark wrote the Gospel, Alexandria speaks now in history with a voice that shall commence a new era in the history of Holy Scripture. Pantænus had written "Commentaries" on the whole of the Bible; Clement had left, in the *Hypotyposes*, a summary exposition of all the Canonical Scripture, not forgetting a glance at the "Contradictions" of heretics. Both these writings have perished long ago. When Origen came, in his turn, to take the same work in hand, a pressing want soon forced itself upon his mind. There was no authentic version of the Sacred Word. The New Testament Canon was still uncertain, one Church upholding a greater number of books, another less. The Roman canon was, indeed, from the first identical with the Tridentine (see "*Perrone de Locis Theologicis*"). But the Church of Antioch, *e.g.*, ignored no less than five of the canonical books. Alexandria, well supplied

with learned expositors, and not a little influenced by the native Alexandrian instinct for criticism and grammar, had got further in the development of the canon than the majority of its sisters. Yet, so far, there had hardly been any distinct interference on the part of authority, and though, as we shall see, Origen's New Testament Canon was the same as that of the Council of Trent, yet there were not wanting private writers who expressed doubts about the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Apocalypse. One thing, however, is very clear in all these somewhat troublesome disputes about the Canon; whether we turn to Tertullian in Africa, to S. Jerome in Italy, to S. Irenæus in the West, or to Clement and Origen in the East, we find one grand and large criterion put forth as the test of all authenticity, viz., the tradition of the ancients. "Go to the oldest churches," says S. Irenæus. "The truest," says Tertullian, "is the oldest; the oldest is what always was; what always was is from the Apostles; go therefore to the Churches of the Apostles, and find what is there held sacred." "We must not transgress the bounds set by our fathers," says Origen. It took several centuries to complete this process; but the principle was a strong and a living one, and its working out was only a matter of time. It was worked out something in this fashion. A provincial Presbyter, we will say from Pelusium, or Syene, or Arsinoe, came up to Alexandria (he may easily have done so, thanks to the police arrangements and engineering enterprise of Ptolemy Philadelphus); having much ecclesiastical news to communicate, and perhaps important business to arrange on the part of his bishop, he would be thrown into close contact with the Presbytery of the Metropolitan Church. Let us suppose that, in order to support some point of practical morality, touching the "lapsed" or the converts, he quoted *Hermas' Shepherd* as Canonical Scripture. The archdeacon with whom he was arguing would demur to such an authority; let him quote Paul, or Jude, or Peter, or John, but not Hermas; Hermas was not in the Canon. The presbyter from the provinces would be a little amazed and even ruffled; how could he say it was not in the Canon when he himself had heard it read on the Lord's Day before the sacred mysteries in the patriarchal Church, in the presence of the very patriarch himself, seated on his throne, and surrounded by the clergy? A canonical book meant a book within the Church's general rule (*κανὼν*), and the rule of the Church was that a book read at such a time was thereby declared true Scripture. The archdeacon would reply that the presbyter was right in the main, both as to facts and principles; but would point out that at Alexandria they had a set of books

which were read at the solemn time he mentioned, besides regular Scripture; and if he had known their usages better, or if he had asked any of the clergy, or the patriarch, he would be aware that such writings were only *read to the people* as pious exhortations, not *defined* as the repository of the faith. The presbyter would consider this inconvenient, and would doubtless be right in thinking so. The practice was condemned by various councils in the next century. But he would at once admit that if the tradition were so, then the Alexandrian Church certainly appeared to reject Hermas. But he would have another difficulty. Did not Clement, of blessed memory, consider Hermas as authentic, or, at any rate, the Epistle of Barnabas, which was quite a parallel case? And did not Origen (whom we suppose to be then teaching) call *the Shepherd* "divinely inspired?" It was true, the archdeacon would rejoin, that both Clement in former years and Origen then spoke very highly of several writings of this class; but he must refer him once more to the authoritative tradition of the Alexandrian Church, to be learned, in the last instance, from the lips of Demetrius himself: this would at once show that Clement and Origen could not mean to put Hermas on a level with Paul, and Origen himself would certainly admit so much, if he were asked. The presbyter would inquire, during his stay, of the heads of the catechetical school, of the ancient priests, and of the patriarch; he would be satisfied that what the archdeacon said was true; and he would return to his city on the Red Sea, or at the extremity of the Thebaid, or on the north-western coast of the Continent, with authentic intelligence that the Apostolic Church of Alexandria rejected Hermas from the Scripture canon, and that, therefore, it certainly ought to be rejected by his own Church. He would, perhaps, in addition to this, bring the information that the Metropolitan Church, so he had found out in his researches, upheld the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Apocalypse of the Apostle John to be true and genuine Scripture; would it not, therefore, be well to consider whether these also should not be admitted by themselves? In this way, or in some way analogous, the Churches that lay within the "circumscription" of a patriarchal or apostolic see, would by degrees be led to conform their canon to the canon of the principal Church. As time went on, the great metropolitan sees themselves became grouped round the three grand centres of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome; and, finally, in the process of the development of tradition, at least as early as A.D. 800, the whole Church had adopted the canon as approved by Rome in the decretal of Innocent I. It is, therefore, a remarkable fact that Origen quotes the canon of the New Testament

precisely as it now stands in the Vulgate. It would hardly be true to say that he formally states as exclusively authentic the complete list of the Catholic canon; but that he does enumerate it is certain. Moreover, in addition to the remarkable correctness of his investigations on the canon, Origen did much, in other ways, for a Book that was emphatically the text-book of his school. The Exemplars in general use were in a most unsatisfactory state: there were hardly two alike. Writers had been careless, audacious innovators had inserted their interpolations, honest but mistaken bunglers had added and taken away wherever the sense seemed to require it. It is Origen himself who makes these complaints, and nobody had better occasion to know how true they were. The manuscript used in the great Church probably differed from that used by the chief catechist; his, again, differed from every one of those brought to class by the wealthier of his scholars. One would bring up a copy of S. Matthew's Gospel, which, on investigation, would turn out to be full of Nazarite or Ebionite "improvements." Another would have an Acts of the Apostles, which had been bequeathed to him by some venerable Judaizant, and wherein S. James of Jerusalem would be found to have assumed more importance than S. Luke was generally supposed to have given him. A third would have a copy so full of monstrous corruptions in the way of mutilation and deliberate heretical glossing, that the orthodox ears of the master would certainly have detected a quotation from it in two lines: it would be one of Valentine's editions. A fourth, newly arrived from some place where Tertullian had never been heard of, would appear with a bulky set of *volumina*, which Origen would find to his great disgust to be the New Testament according to Marcion. That first and chief of reckless falsifiers had "circumcised" the New Testament, as S. Irenæus calls it, to such an extent that he had to invent a quantity of new Acts and Apocalypses to keep up appearances, and what he retained he had freely cut and tortured into Marcionism; for he said openly that the Apostles were moderately well-informed, but that his lights were far in advance of them. Such examples as these are, of course, extremes; but even in orthodox copies there must have been a bewildering number of *variantes*. Origen's position would bring him into contact with Exemplars from many distant Churches. The work of copying fresh ones for the "missions," or to supply the wants of the provinces, would necessitate some choice of manuscripts; and in a matter so important, we may be sure that his catechists, fellow-townsmen of Aristarchus, rather enjoyed than otherwise the vigorous

critical disputes which the collation of MSS. has a special tendency to engender. It is nearly established—indeed, we may say, it is certain—that Origen wrote a copy of the New Testament with his own hand. It was not a new edition, apparently, but a corrected copy of the generally received version. He corrected the blunders of copyists; he struck out of the text everything that was evidently a mere gloss; he re-inserted what had clearly dropped out by mischance, and adopted a few readings that were unmistakable improvements. But he made no alteration of the text on mere conjecture. However faulty a reading might seem, he never changed it without authority; he had too much reverence for Holy Scripture, and probably, also, too bitter an experience of conjectural emendations, to sanction such dangerous proceedings by his own practice. This precious copy, the fruit of his labours and study, the depositary of his wide experience, and the record of his “adamantine” industry, was apparently the one from which he himself always quoted; and, therefore, we may conclude, which he always used. It lay, after his death, in the archives of Cæsarea of Palestine, with his other Biblical MSS. Pamphilus the Martyr is related to have copied it; and in the time of Constantine, Eusebius sent many transcripts of it to the imperial city. Eusebius himself copied it with all the reverence he would necessarily feel for his hero, Origen; and by means of his copy, or of copies made by his direction, it became the basis of that recension of the New Testament known as the Alexandrine. S. Jerome was well acquainted with the library of Cæsarea, and often mentions the “Codices Adamantii,” which he was privileged to consult there; and we need not remind the reader of the well-known agreement of the Latin versions with those of Palestine and Alexandria. Now Palestine meant—first, Jerusalem, where was the celebrated library formed by S. Alexander, Origen’s own college friend and an Alexandria man, as we should say, and partly under Origen’s influence; and, secondly, Cæsarea, which inherited Origen’s traditions and teaching, at least equally with Alexandria, as we shall see later on, and in which the originals of his works were preserved with religious veneration, until war and sack of Persian or Moslem destroyed them. Thus the work of Origen on the New Testament, begun and mainly carried out during those twenty years at Alexandria, is living and active at this very day.

But if the New Testament needed setting to rights, it was correct and accurate in comparison with the Old. How he treated the Septuagint, and how the Hexapla and the Tetrapla grew under nimble hands and learned heads, we must for the present defer to tell.

ART. III.—THE CELTIC LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

The College Irish Grammar. By the Rev. ULICK J. BOURKE. Dublin: Mullany.

The Gaelic Language: its Classical Affinities and Distinctive Character. A Lecture delivered in the University of Edinburgh. By STUART BLACKIE, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

THE two works whose titles stand above may be viewed in a double aspect: they are indicative of reanimation of a dying language, or of a last effort to sustain it. The author of the grammar is an Irishman; the author of the lecture, a Saxon. It may seem an ominous conjunction; but it is not the first time a Celt and a Saxon have agreed in esteem of the Gaelic.

A century ago, Dr. Johnson and Charles O'Connor, of Ballineagare, Roscommon, corresponded in relation to Irish literature. After an interval of twenty years, Johnson complained to his correspondent that nothing had been done. "I expected," he wrote, "great discoveries in Irish antiquity, and large publications in the Irish language; but the world still remains as it was, doubtful and ignorant." Johnson could not now complain of want of "discoveries in Irish antiquity," nor of want of "large publications in the Irish language." In both particulars Irish scholarship has removed his cause of complaint. But he would have cause to complain that the language is not now systematically cultivated by the Irish people. He would find Dr. O'Donovan's grammar—a work Ireland should be proud of, but which, by sales from the booksellers' shelves, never paid for the printing; two or three dictionaries; and a few other publications, among which is the grammar before us; all, the works of a small band of devoted scholars, whose purses, we may safely assume, have suffered by their patriotism. A national literature, in the proper and ample sense of the term, he would not find. It does not exist.

How many Irishmen have Archbishop MacHale's *Homer* on their shelves? How many are engaged in comparing it with Lord Derby's? And how many have compared it with Wright's? Dr. MacHale could answer the first question, probably with emphasis. The two other questions may be solved when we see critical comparisons in the Irish organs

of opinion. To this time no one has shown in what Irish is superior, and in what it is inferior, to English in Homeric translation. The theme is beneath no scholar, and the literary emulations of the day forcibly suggest it.

In literary contrast with modern Celtic Wales, modern Celtic Ireland has the inferior position. Wales has a vigorous literary existence, and a sturdy national life. Welshmen of every class cultivate their language with serious assiduity. The result is a steadily advancing literature. Welsh scholars do not count by twos and threes, but by hundreds. The remotest glen, the poorest village, is seldom without earnest students struggling to distinguish themselves. Some of the brilliant names in English literature are Welshmen; but being profound English scholars, they are not the less profound Cymric: they did not abandon their own when necessity or desire for extended life compelled them to take up the language of the Saxon. Every Welshman feels that a dead language is a dead nationality, and he acts on his feeling. He does not object to the *Saesoneg*. Without it, he knows he is tied fast and firm to his hills; but he perceives no reason for sinking the *Cymraeg* in Lethe; no reason why to revel in Shakspeare, he should throw away and forget Dafydd ap Gwilym.

To stimulate the educated to literary activity; to encourage young aspirants; to maintain in the people love of the old lore of the country, and to acquaint them with the new; the Welsh hold annual *Eisteddfods*, or public conferences of literary men, meetings at which essays are read, poems recited, prizes contended for, and prominent literary subjects discussed. The *Eisteddfod* is exceedingly popular, and has powerful influence. It is like a tribunal of old bards. Some of the finest products of Cymric genius are due to the institution. We may instance the Rev. T. J. Hughes' *Essay on the Welsh Syntax*, which it appears was the first regular explanation of the principles of that division of Welsh grammar; and it is not unlikely the best existing grammar, Rowlands', may be traced to a similar origin. The *Eisteddfod* is ambulatory, and its sittings extend over several days.

Schools abound in Wales. In all not purely English, or "national," the *Cymraeg* is taught. The policy seems to be not to teach Welsh exclusively, but to encourage acquisition of English. However, come or go with English what may, Welsh-speaking children are all taught their own language. The denominational ministers take care of that. Their existence might depend on it. There are also good colleges. St. David's has more than local renown. Christ's College,

Brecon, had for Chancellor that fine Celtic scholar, Edward Davies, author of the most searching of all the criticisms on Macpherson. An exhibition, the Powis, appertains, we believe, to St. David's. It was founded for the promotion of Welsh learning. To show Irishmen the sort of men that grace the land of the Cymry, and uphold its language, we take the names of some Powis examiners. First stands the reviewer of Bunsen's *Biblical Researches*, Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice Principal and Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College; next, John Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan; Thomas Briscoe, Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford; Hon. Robert C. Herbert, St. John's College, Cambridge; Francis France, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge; and William Basil J. Jones, Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. Dr. Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, though an Englishman, is also among Cymric scholars, and so likewise is the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Campbell, a Scoto-Saxon. An attempt was recently made to found a Welsh University, but it failed, from the objection that the institution would provincialize, and, consequently, would be pernicious; that is, it would be a bad thoroughfare to the loaves and fishes in England. The objection was sound. *Walia* is quite as canny as *Scotia*.

The Cymric Celtic never had a cultivation so complete and extended as in the present period. The native Welsh press is constantly active: it teems periodicals, weekly, monthly, quarterly, on all subjects of general interest or necessity. Encyclopædias, dictionaries, and works on science, are published in parts, at prices that place them within reach of all. Among the dictionaries is one, recently completed, by the Rev. Silvan Evans, a man of great learning. A bare list of the titles of Welsh periodicals would occupy several pages. The following must suffice. It is enough for the purpose we have in view. *Traethodydd*; *Biernial*; *Seren Gomer*. These are quarterlies. The principal monthlies are—*Yr Haul*; *Yr Eglwysydd*; *Y Drysorfa*; *Trysorfa y Plant*; *Y Symbylydd*; *Y Dysgedydd*; *Y Diwygiwr*; *Y Eurgrawn*; *Y Winllan*; *Y Greal*; *Yr Athraw*; *Yr Ardd*; *Y Cronicle*; *Gwyllydd*. The national newspaper press not only lives, but flourishes, in Wales. We have not a perfect list of the papers, but among them are *Baner Cymru* (The Banner of Wales); *Yr Udgon* (The Trumpet); *Herald Cymraeg* (The Welsh Herald); *Y Gwladgarw* (The Patriot); *Y Byd Cymraeg* (The Welsh World); *Seren Cymru* (The Star of Wales); *Y Cymro* (The Welshman). The latter is High Church in principle, and popular from the value attached to its general

literature. In South Wales there are papers in the two languages, English and Welsh. Scientific works proceed almost exclusively from the South Wales press. North Wales is more inclined to theology and poetry.

When the Cambro-Briton leaves his barrens for fat and fertile England, or when he crosses the Atlantic to build himself a home on the St. Lawrence or the Mississippi, he carries his language with him, and clings to it with the same tenacity that he strives for wealth. He uses the Saxon's tongue for his worldly purposes, but for his personal gratification, and his higher thoughts, he uses his own. The Cambrian is, in his way, a pious man. He builds places of worship with devout zeal; but he takes care that he is ministered to, and that he has his formularies in Welsh. He even compels the Anglican Church to submit to this, not only in Wales but in England. And wherever he goes, the Welshman causes his native literature to follow him. In the chief towns in England and in America, there are booksellers whose principal business is in Welsh publications.

The Welsh have a wonderful faith in the strength, compass, and beauty of their language; and a strong sense of the association of country and language never leaves them.

*Ni phorfais dan ffurfafen
Gwe mor gath ar Gymraeg wen?*

What strains of elegance beneath the sky,
Can with the Cambrian muse presume to vie?

There is not a Welshman under the sun who would not hold to this. It is over strong, but surely far better than the apathy of Irishmen. Such feelings are the sureties of national life. Notwithstanding Archdeacon Prys, however, we venture to ask for a Welsh parallel to *Eibhlín a Ruin*.

Is breaga 'na Bënus tu,
Is ailne 'na reultán tu,
Mo h-Elen gan beim is tu,
A Eiblin a ruin!

Mo rós, mo lil, mo caor is tu,
Mo stór a b-fuil 'san t-saogal so, tu
Rún mo croide 's mo cleib is tu!
A Eiblin a ruin!

More beauteous than Venus, far,
More fair than the midnight star,
My Helen, without stain you are,
Eibhlín a ruin.

My rose, my lily white,
My treasure, unfading bright,
Darling! my soul's delight!

Eibhlin a Ruin.

This imperfect exposition of the sentiments of the Welsh in relation to their language, and of the condition of the living Welsh literature, is sufficient for base to the questions—Why is Irish literature but the dry bones of the Past, the relics of dead men? Why is there not a living literature flowing over and invigorating the land? Because the Saxon tore the life out of the language, is a foolish answer. He cut the throats of the depositaries of Celtic learning in Wales, and threw their carcases to his dogs; but that did not hinder the Cymric tongue from growing greater and greater. But let the past be the past. An Irish literature does not exist—can one be created? What one Celtic people have done, and do, another of equal, if not of greater, genius may do.

It admits of no doubt that the Gaelic is withering away. In Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland, in Man, it is disappearing. The coarse Bodach almost alone retains it as the language of common life, and he insensibly mingles the destroying tongue with it. The poet has truly but sadly sung,—

It is fading! it is fading! like the leaves upon the trees!
It is dying! it is dying! like the Western-ocean breeze!
It is fastly disappearing, as footsteps on the shore,
Where the Barrow, and the Erne, and Lough Swilly's waters roar—
Where the parting sunbeam kisses the Corrib in the West,
And the ocean, like a mother, clasps the Shannon to its breast!
The language of old Erin, of her history and name—
Of her monarchs and her heroes, of her glory and her fame—
The sacred shrine where rested, through her sunshine and her gloom,
The spirit of her martyrs, as their bodies in the tomb!
The time-wrought shell where murmured, through centuries of wrong,
The secret voice of Freedom in annal and in song—
Is surely, fastly sinking into silent death at last,
To live but in the memories and relics of the Past!

REV. M. MULLIN, Clonfert.

And this mourner, too, must wail his plaint in Saxon words and Saxon idiom, lest his lamentation should fall meaningless on the ears of Ireland. The fact is a bitter reproach. The Cymry sing their joys and sorrows in Celtic.

Whether the Gaelic is worth retaining in life, we will not debate. The horrible materialism that asks, Where will Irish carry you when you cast loose from Dublin quays? cannot be contended with. It measures everything by money value or mechanical utility, and contemptuously scouts every measure

but its own. We assume that the oldest European language is worth retaining in life, for what it is, and for what it may disclose. But, to retain it, much is required. The scholar must bestow his loving care on it, and the people must be inspired to cultivate it. The problem, therefore is—How can new life be given to the Gaelic? The machinery of the Welsh *Eisteddfod* seems perfectly adapted to the first object; to gather Irish scholars together in public conference. Many difficulties oppose creation of a popular literature, and all rests on that. The people have to be prepared for it. Those of them that speak Irish would have to be dealt with in one way, and those who do not in another. The speakers would have to be taught to read and to write the language; and they that neither speak nor understand it, would have to be induced to the task of learning it. One Irish *Eisteddfod* would settle the method of treating all obvious difficulties, and unseen ones would be disposed of as they rose. The association suggested would in no way interfere with the *Ossianic Society*, the *Archæological and Celtic Society*, and others similar; all excellent and in every respect desirable; but they are archaic, and archaism deals not with the Present.

A formidable obstacle to the acquisition of Irish, and to maintenance of it in its purity, the want of elementary introductions, and of reliable and critical grammars, has been removed. Independently of any national association, Irishmen have now the means to restore the old tongue of their country to distinction, and form a literature.

Among the books best adapted to aid the Irish student, to regulate his taste, and to ground him in the elements of sound grammatical criticism, a very high position must be assigned to Professor Bourke's "College Irish Grammar." Of modern Irish it is *the* grammar. The manner in which Mr. Bourke has condensed the matter of his wide research; the brevity, but fulness and clearness, of his expositions; and his strict logical method, are proofs at once of his complete mastery of his subject, and of his precision of thought. This may seem extravagance of praise. It is simply assertion of merit.

The "College Irish Grammar" follows the usual divisional arrangements, though they could be improved upon. Orthography necessarily required ample treatment. In unskilful hands it would have suffered. Mr. Bourke has hit the just medium. He has neither overdone it to confusion, nor left it worthless by meagre brevity. The letter-sounds, and the peculiarities of aspiration and eclipsis are well explained; though, perhaps, it may turn out that a little more detail will be needed by foreign Irishmen, and by absolute foreigners.

On one point Mr. Bourke seems to us in error. The aspirated *c* does exist in English. In Lancashire and Cheshire he would hear it commonly enough. Many words ending with *gh* are pronounced as though ending with *ch*, and it is the same with words ending with *ck*. The fashionable pronunciation does not admit the aspirate sound of *c*, but fashionable pronunciation is often, as in this, utterly at fault.

We perceive in Mr. Bourke's explanation of the aspirated Irish *d* a guide to the true sound of the Anglo-Saxon *d*. We are altogether dissatisfied with the pronunciation assigned to it by Anglo-Saxon grammarians. It is always postulated of *d*, that it is a soft *th*. We have considered it an aspirated *d*. Rev. Mr. Bourke's theory of the Irish *d* has confirmed us in our opinion, and added the conviction, that the aspiration under certain conditions extrudes the *d* and leaves the *h* sound. We also find agreement between the Irish aspirated *g* and the Anglo-Saxon *g*. Both are sounded *y* before the vowels *e*, *i*, and both at the end of words serve merely to lengthen the preceding vowel. We are disposed, too, to assume that initial *g*, in Anglo-Saxon, is aspirate under the same conditions as in Irish.

Whatever may be the case with the sound *ng* in Irish, it should not be accepted as a single simple sound in English. Mr. Bourke in his reference to the English *ng* rests on Dr. Latham; but he is not an authority great enough to repress doubt. We might as reasonably affirm *gl* a simple sound. The *ng* sound is produced, not by a single organ, but by two: it is a compound sound like every other produced by conjunction of dissimilar letters. The *n* is a nasal, and the *g* a soft guttural. Very commonly the *g* is thrown out, extinguished, in pronunciation. The consequence resulting is, the shortening of the vowel preceding, and *singīng* becomes *singīn*. This of course is incorrect pronunciation, but it shows the office *g* fills. A rustic pronounces *throng* as *thrungh*, and it would scarce be safe to insist that he is wrong in respect to the *g*. Dr. Latham might dogmatize till doomsday, and he would get no one with perfect sonal perception to admit that *n* and *g* in *singer*, for instance, are not each sounded.

Professor Bourke's chapter on spelling and writing in Irish is excellent. But it is a fair question, whether the old forms of the letters should be retained. That the so-called Irish characters are exclusively Irish, cannot be proved. The Latin characters of the fourth century were the same. But, be this as it may, there is an undeniable inconvenience in the form, especially in writing. Why an inconvenience that may be very obstructive, should be maintained, we leave to be dis-

cussed. Sentiment should give way to utility. The diacritical marks could as easily be cast on Roman as on Irish, and change of form would admit the advantage of Italic. In reprints of Anglo-Saxon works, Roman type is now used, except that the old aspirates, for so we term them, are retained. The Saxon never lets sentiment stand in his way when it is profitable to extinguish it. The German letters are a nuisance to foreigners; but the notion is growing strong in the German mind that Roman type would be better; and some little of the notion has oozed out in practice. Neither religion nor patriotism is locked up in the shape of a letter. It can scarcely be doubted that the ancient Irish changed their own letters for the existing form. Why not change again?

In orthography, Irish has great superiority over English. There are easy rules which insure correctness. The Welsh claims the same superiority. According to Dr. Johnson, the Welsh, two hundred years ago, we must say three hundred, "insulted their English neighbours for the instability of their orthography." They reproach us on the same ground to this day. We have, in English, no fixed principles of orthography, and it is one of the serious imperfections of our language. Mr. Ellis asserts—1. "That no Englishman can tell with certainty how to pronounce any word which he has only seen written;" 2. "That no Englishman can tell with certainty how to spell a word which he has only heard spoken, and never seen written." The assertions are a little too sweeping, but taking what Mr. Ellis really means, it is not possible to contradict him. It is time that some attempt should be made at a reformation of English orthography. A thorough understanding of the Irish and Welsh system might lead to substantial results. The Pitman phonetics advocated by Mr. Ellis we have no faith in; but his "Plea for Phonetic Spelling" should be closely studied: it is able and full of useful and suggestive matter.

We are not sure that we always understand what Professor Bourke means by old Saxon and Saxon. Between old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon there is a distinction that should be observed. The old Saxon, or Saxon of the *Heiland*, is not Anglo-Saxon. The latter took form in England—how, nobody knows. We have no reliable theory of the formation of Anglo-Saxon. What has come down to us in books, there are many reasons for believing, was not the ordinary language of the time. But we take it that the Professor invariably means Anglo-Saxon; "old Saxon" being used inadvertently.

The Anglo-Saxon genitive was, in one of its forms, as Mr. Bourke states, *es*, now reduced by elision to *'s*; but what he

terms the false, or Norman genitive, is not a genitive. In English, *of* never did and never does govern the genitive, if by govern is meant, places a noun in the genitive. The essential of a genitive is that the noun or pronoun cannot under any condition be the subject of a verb; and a noun preceded by *of*, or *of the*, except when *of* is a mere vocal hyphen, may be the subject of a verb. "The feet *of the* child *who ran* into the hot gleeds *were* burnt." Where is the genitive in this? In a genitive combination, one of two nouns may be subject of a verb, but both cannot. "The hill's foot," which Mr. Bourke condemns, because possession is denoted, is a true genitive. Connection, not possession, is denoted. The term possessive as applied in lieu of genitive, we doom to extinction.

The Irish genitive is formed by inflection, but there is no inflection of the article to accord with the noun. The latter is a defect. An Irishman may not perceive it; nevertheless, it is strongly manifested in translation; at least it appears so to us. We cannot perceive how *an* can legitimately be rendered *of the* in any case. The defining power of *an* before a genitive noun is surely the same as it is before a nominative or objective noun. In Anglo-Saxon, for example, the genitive *thæs* is no more than the nominative, or, if people will make use of improper terms, the article, *the* or *se*; the inflection being, as in the case of adjectives, solely to accord the definitive with the noun. So it is in every language having demonstratives subject to case inflection. We read *an*, in genitive and in nominative, *the*, and *the* only; and *cos an leinb*, we should render *the child's foot*, not the foot of the child, as rendered by Mr. Bourke. *Bárr sléibé*, being indefinite, is as in English, "mountain's top;" with the peculiarity that in the Irish the nominative noun stands before the genitive, on the same principle, we presume, that the noun stands before its adjective. We direct Mr. Bourke's attention to this. It is not a trifling point.

At page 195 we have the following: "Fear glic dlige is olc an cóimursa;" a cunning lawyer is a bad neighbour. Mr. Bourke asserts that *cóimursa* is the nominative of the sentence, resting his assertion on these reasons: "1. The nominative case in Irish follows the verb; 2. The article points out the subject; 3. In sense and grammatical construction the sentence is the same as this: *is olc an cóimursa fear glic dlige*." But does the latter sentence really express the meaning of the first? Is not the first elliptical? "A gleg lawyer is bad the neighbour *to you*," seems the true meaning. The second is fairly construed, "The neighbour is bad—a gleg lawyer;" and

to us, it is elliptical like the other. If we are right, the rule that the nominative case follows the verb is not absolute.

The placing of the preposition at the end of the sentence is justified by Professor Bourke. "The practice," he says, "is judged to be, it seems, in English, as it is in Irish, rather a propriety of idiom than an error of grammar."—"College Irish Grammar," p. 218, 3rd ed. Dr. O'Donovan censured the practice; and as regards English so did Murray. O'Donovan says, "the relative pronoun is often loosely applied in the modern language, somewhat like the colloquial but incorrect English, 'who does he belong to.'" The professor's view is opposed to this opinion. He continues, however, "It can with truth be said that the loose application of the preposition to the relative pronoun in the English language, has come from the parent Saxon dialect." It is a more probable opinion, however, that the loose application of the preposition to the relative pronoun is not a practice derived from the Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxons never wrote, "to whom does he belong." The practice of *to-whoming* came in when the old interrogatives were adopted as relative pronouns.

Before we leave Mr. Bourke's *Syntax*, which, from the first chapter to the last, is full, clear, and simple, and bears in every line of it evidence of the Professor's thorough skill in his subject, we shall turn to a section that, if it do not decide the point, gives a clue to the construction of such words as *agoing*. Max Müller holds that "I am going" is a corruption of "I am agoing," and that the prefix *a* means *on*; so that, by his dictum, *agoing* is *on going*. We have the construction from the Anglo-Saxon; but the grammarians do not explain it. The Welsh grammarians instruct us that this *a* is an auxiliary affirmative adverb; but they do not compound it with the verb: they do not write "I am agoing," but "I am *a* going;" and they consider it a mere expletive. "*A item est adverbium seu particula verbis preposita nihil significans.*" Perhaps so. Mr. Bourke, however, teaches that *a* is, in Irish, the preposition equivalent to the English *in*, used in "the continuative form of the active and passive voice" of the verb, "as *tá an clog a bualad*—the clock is striking" (in striking, or *at its striking*)—"corresponding to the Saxon form *a-striking*." We are disposed to treat the augment *a* as a mere intensive.

"My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here,
My heart's in the Highlands *achasing* the deer;
Achasing the wild deer and following the roe;
My heart's in the Highlands wherever I go."

Here, *achasing* is *chasing* intensified, and the augment gives as well a fuller, stronger flow to the word. One deep in word-craft might possibly chase this augment through half-a-dozen languages to that common refuge for crazed rematologists, the Sanscrit, and find it in the verbal augment *a*. The Irish *a* fails us in the present.

The *Prosody* of Mr. Bourke's Grammar is of more than usual interest. We scarcely know how to do justice to it. He begins by explaining what verse is, and what the properties essential to it are; and he exemplifies his propositions by extracts from Archbishop MacHale's translations from Moore's *Melodies*, and by some pieces by other hands, among which is a translation into Irish, by himself, of the beautiful Latin hymn, *Jesu dulcis memoria*. The Professor then treats of the versification of the Irish bards :—

Was their versification founded on quantity or on accent—on measure alone, on assonance, alliteration, or parallelism? It was founded on none of these exclusively: not on quantity, as practised by the Greeks and Latins, which any one skilled in Latin prosody may readily learn by analyzing an Irish quatrain; nor on accent only Of course it is true that accent plays a part in all kinds of versification. Nor was the ancient Irish metre one merely of measure, of assonance, or parallelism. It embraced all these qualities, some one of which was considered by other people specially essential in constituting verse. It is no wonder, then, that it has been pronounced by O'Molloy "the most difficult kind of composition under the canopy of heaven."

In reading the poetry of the ancient bards, either published or still in MSS., one cannot fail to perceive in Irish verse composition that the following requisites have been deemed either essential or necessary :—

1. Each stanza is a quatrain, or stave of four lines.
2. In each line there are seven syllables generally.
3. Of these, some must necessarily be *alliterative*.
4. Assonance is indispensable.
5. Rhyme, therefore, if assonance be perfect, is found in Irish verse.
6. Rhythm, as well as rhyme, lends its symphony.
7. Parallelism of thought is often—of words, usually—employed.
8. Each line expresses a judgment. The same word in the same sense is never used twice in a stave.
9. Special kinds of verse require (1) a syllable to be annexed to the prescribed number; or that (2) the final term in the second and fourth lines, or first and second lines, consist of one syllable more than that of the other verse in the same couplet; or that (3) there exist a certain alliteration or assonance. These specialities Irish bards and grammarians have distinguished by specific names.

Obs.—1, 2, regard the metre and mould of verse; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, its orna-

ments, its symphony, and phonetic effect ; 8, the thoughts ; 9, special kinds of verse-making.

The first four—number of lines, number of syllables, alliterations, and assonance—are indispensable in *dán díreac*, or direct metre ; the others only for particular kinds of Irish verse.—pp. 239-40.

This, Mr. Bourke follows by an extended explanation, which it is not necessary we should quote from. But his dissertation on consonantal assonance is so instructive that we cannot pass it. The Irish bards arranged the consonants in five classes :—

1. Three *soft*—i.e., smooth—c, f, t.
2. Three *mediæ*—g, b, d.
3. Three *rough*—i.e., aspiratæ—ċ, ṗ (i.e., f), ṫ.
4. Five *strong*, or double—ll, nn, rr, ng, m (nasal).
5. Seven *light* (aspirated) *mediæ* and the liquids—ġ, ḃ, ḋ, l, m, n, r and the sibilant s, called by them the queen of consonants ; for it is bound by no rule, nor influenced by those laws which direct the use of the other consonants.

Obs. 1.—Comiarda briste (consonantal assonance) requires, then, a phonetic agreement in consonants of the same class ; e.g., m and r (class 5), ċ and ṫ (class 3).

The terms, “uaim” and “uair,” } make an assonance.
 “rat” and “gac” }

Obs. 2.—Perfect assonance is *imperfect rhyme*.

“In eâ assonantiâ, origo prima assonantiæ *finalis* est, cultæ præsertim à populis recentioribus Europæ quam dicunt *rimum*.”—ZEVSS. And he shows in a note that the word *rimum* (rhyme) is of Irish origin : “Quamvis ea vox computationem poëticam indirans in vetustis libris Hibernicis non occurrat frequentissimi tamen est usus. Simplex Hibernica substantiva *rim*, inde derivatur *rimiré*, computator.”—p. 912, Gram.

The fifth requisite, *rhyme*, is therefore a quality of Irish verse.

In *perfect rhyme* mere chime is not enough, the *accent* must fall on the chiming syllables ; in *imperfect*, the accent does not fall on the chiming syllables. To couple an accented syllable with an unaccented one (as the words *fly* and *speedily*), or two unaccented syllables (like *ty* in *flighty* and *ily* in *merrily*) is imperfect rhyming. In order, therefore, to form a *perfect rhyme* the chiming syllables must be accented.

It happens very rarely that perfect rhyme is found in Irish verse : it is only whenever some very perfect assonances occur. In Irish, as in Spanish poetry, assonance was more attended to than mere rhyme.

The sixth requisite of Irish verse is “*uaitne*” “*union*,” *symmetry*, *symphony*. . . . Hence this requisite includes the two qualities known to scholars as *rhythm* and *verbal parallelism*. Parallelism requires that two or more terms in the second line of the couplet should form a symphony with others of the same articulate character in the first or leading line. Assonance is also employed as a subordinate kind of parallelism, or balancing of words and syllables,

To illustrate this plainly, let us analyze the first stanza of that hymn composed by our countryman, Sedulius, A.D. 430 :—

**"Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
Qui regna dat caelestia."**

Impie and *venire*, having the same vowel sounds, form a correspondence ; so do *Herodes* and *times* ; *mortalia* and *regna* correspond ; *non eripit* forms a parallel symphony with *qui regna dat* ; *mortalia caelestia* chime.

So natural was it for Irish bards to compose couplets in this strain, that many of the ballad writers of the last century who knew little English, "made the attempt," as Dr. Petrie remarks, "to transfer to the English language the constantly occurring assonantal or vowel rhymes of the original Irish songs." Mr. Millikin, of Cork, in the song, "The Groves of Blarney," has introduced the Irish style :—

"Kind sir, *be easy*, and do not *tease me*,
With your false *praises* most jestingly ;
Your dissimulation of invocation,
Are vaunting praises, seducing me.
I' not Aurora, nor beauteous Flora,"

&c., &c.

Father Prout has imitated it in his

“Bells of *Shandon*, that sound so grand on
The pleasant waters of the river Lee.”

pp. 241-3.

Mr. Bourke occupies one chapter with explanation and illustration of the four kinds of verse—Dán díreac, *direct metre*, which is the principal and prevailing versification; Oglacás, *servile metre*; Brúlingac, *fulness, plumpness*, requires the final term in each line to consist of three syllables; and Droigneac, a difficult kind of verse, and therefore its singular name, the *blackthorn*. The Professor claims rhyme as the invention of the Celts. He writes:—

“From the little that has been here shown, the reader cannot but perceive what astonishing command our ancient bards had over all the sources of melody and song; and how thoroughly conversant they were with *every* kind of rythmical elegance, and hence how utterly false is the opinion that attributes the introduction of rhyme to the Saracens in the 9th century. . . . Rhyme was practised in the 4th century, even by Latin poets. Those from whom the writers of the Latin hymns borrowed or learned the practice, must have known it at a much earlier period.”—p. 247.

The chapter ends with the following summary. To most English readers it will be a surprise, and many Irishmen will see in it more than they could have supposed:—

From those examples now furnished—drawn, as they are, from the best authenticated sources—it is evident, first, that in the second, third, and sixth and subsequent centuries, the Irish bards and *filidh* composed verses in which (1.) *assonance*, (2.) *alliteration*, (3.) *rhyme*, *parallelism*, were essential qualities; that versification without some of these essential requisites was never tolerated by the bards. And bearing in mind that the bardic laws and regulations were very binding, and that all the Keltic races have adhered to the traditions and teachings of their progenitors, as Zeiuss remarks, "*Morum priscorum semper tenacissimi fuerint Celtici populi*," we must infer, secondly, that the Irish bards and *filidh* who flourished several centuries before the Christian era, practised, as our historical annals testify, the same kind of versification which was in use in the early Christian ages. And the third conclusion to be drawn is that which Zeiuss attests—the Druids and bards of Wales and Gaul practised the same kind of versification in which the bards and *filidh* of Eire composed their hymns and elegies. Another inference is this, that the Keltic inhabitants of Gaul, Cambria, and Eire knew enough about rhyme and its use—that Keltic bards, at least of Gaul, put the knowledge into practice 2,000 years, perhaps, before the Saracens came to enlighten Europe.—p. 251.

The learned Celtic scholar and critic, Edward Davies, one time Chancellor of Christ's College, Brecon, may be cited to support Mr. Bourke. Turner, the historian, has proved that the Welsh have considerable remains of the poetry of the sixth century. "Whom," then asks Davies, "should the bards of the sixth century have imitated but their predecessors in their own country, and who had composed in their own language? What had they to do with the Saracens or the monks of Italy? Had not sufficient proofs been adduced that rhyme was *generally* known in Europe, as early as the first century of our era, yet it might have been admitted as probable that it was *peculiarly* known to the Celts, among whose ancient poets we find it in full establishment."

Mr. Bourke treats of the versification of Latin hymns. The chapter he devotes to it is brief, but extremely interesting and instructive. He begins by explaining the metrical character of the hymns.

Of these hymns (1) some are composed in the metre of the poetic prototypes according to which Horace and Terence wrote—(a) Iambic trimetre, (b) iambic tetrametre, (c) sapphic, with a closing adonic to complete the strophé. Others have been composed irrespective of the laws of Latin versification. As a matter of fact, however, the whole of this latter class, and a great many of the former, are written in verses of the same number of syllables, and adorned with the same phonetic qualities in which the bards of Keltic Gaul, of Cambria, of Eire, composed. How account for this fact? The hymnologists must . . . have learned of the Keltic bards, or the Keltic bards learned of them. The latter part of this propo-

sition cannot be admitted—chronology and facts are against it. Again, Zeiſs ſays, this form of verſifying was unknown and entirely foreign to poets of clafſical antiquity.—p. 252.

Of the Latin hymnologists, the Profeſſor ſays—

The hymns ſung in the Church prior to the period in which Urban VIII. flouriſhed, were compoſed either by (1.) Iriſhmen, ſuch as Sedulius, Columbanus, Columba, Secundinus; or (2.) by men of Keltic origin, as St. Ambroſe; or (3.) thoſe who, like St. Auguſtine, were of the ſame metrical ſchool with St. Ambroſe; or laſtly (4.) thoſe who flouriſhed between the fourth century and the fourteenth, and followed in the compoſition of hymns, the metre and melody of the great maſter of hymnology, St. Ambroſe. With regard to the firſt, they, like St. Fiach, Biſhop of Sletty, wrote in Iriſh *dán díreac*, and in that ſpecies of it called *séadna*, which contained eight ſyllables. . . . For men who underſtood Latin ſo well, that in all the ancient manuſcripts we find they wrote alternately in Latin and Iriſh, the transition from Iriſh to Latin verſification was quite natural and eaſy. When, therefore, one finds ſuch hymns as thoſe which Sedulius compoſed—

“A ſolis ortús cardine,”

and

“Hoſtis Herodes impie,”

written like the Iriſh odes of the time, the proof is complete that that manner of compoſing hymns was borrowed from the Iriſh bards.—p. 252.

Mr. Bourke illuſtrates his claim to the Iriſh origin of the Latin hymn verſification by ſeveral examples. We regret we cannot make uſe of any of them. One, *Lauda, Sion, ſalvatore*, we paſs reluctantly; but it is unneceſſary to our preſent purpoſe, and it would conſequently uſeſſly deprive us of ſpace.

An appendix to the *Proſody* is made up of ſpecimens of Iriſh, in proſe and verſe, ranging from the fifth to the ſeventeenth century. An extenſive collection of *Proverbs* cloſes the volume; but the miſchief of proverbs is, one never turns up but another may be found to contradict it. Some minds, however, delight in them. We have ſeen a grave and learned ſociety pondering over means for collecting the local proverbs of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire.

The method of ſtudy ſuggeſted by Profeſſor Bourke to the Iriſh ſtudent cannot be improved; but we venture to add that advanced ſtudents ſhould carefully compare Iriſh with the Scotch and Manks Gaelic, and cloſely with the Welch. By every comparison they would increaſe their knowledge and their power of compoſition. We will illuſtrate our meaning. Take the following effuſion. It relates to the firſt king of Man, *Manannán-beg-mac-y-Lheirr*. The date aſſigned to the piece is 1504. Who the author was is unknown, but the honour of being the firſt Manks poet is awarded to him. It

seemingly relates to Magnus the Northman, who about the beginning of the 11th century ravaged Man and Anglesea, and made his son king over the Manks, having first obtained for him to wife, "with a good grace," the daughter of Murchath, "chief man of Ireland."

Manannan beg va Mac y Leirr
Shen yn chied er ec row riau ee ;
Agh myr share oddym's cur-my-n-er,
Cea row eh hene agh An-chreestee.

Cha nee lesh e Chliwe ren eh ee reayll
Cha nee lesh e Hideyn, my lesh e Vhow ;
Agh tra aikagh eh Lhuingys troailt
Oallagh eh ee, my geayrt, lesh Kay.

Yinnagh eh Doinney ny hassoo er Brooghe
Er-lhieu shen hene dy beagh ayn Keead ;
As shen myr dreill Manannan keoie
Yn Ellan shoh'n ayn lesh cosney Bwoid.

Little Manannan was son of Leirr ; he was the first that ever had it (the island) ; but as I can best conceive, he was himself a heathen. It was not with the sword he kept it, neither with arrows nor bow, but when he would see ships sailing he would cover it round with a fog. He would set a man standing on hill appear as if he were a hundred ; and thus did wild Manannan protect that island with all its booty.

How much pure Irish is here ? How much change ? What is the kind of change ? How much actual corruption, and whence the corruption ? Next take anything like this rendering of Irish into Welsh by mere change of orthography. The Irish is quoted in the grammar before us, p. 250, and the Welsh is from Davies's "Dissertation on Macpherson's Ossian :"—

Goill mear mileadta
Ceap na crodacta
Laim fial arracta
Mian na móracta
Mar leim lan-teinne
Fraoc nac ffuartar
Laoc go lán ndeabnaid
Réim an vicuraib
Leoman lautarmac
A leonad biodbaid
Tonn ag treun tuarguin
Goill na ngnat iarguil
Nar traoc a dtreun tacar

Coll, mâr milëddau
Cyf y creuddogau
Llaw hael arrachau
Mÿn y mordasan
Mur llam llawntandde
Grugiawg vuarthawr
Llûch llawn dyvinaidd
Rhwyv y rhiwraidd
Llew-vin llwth arwawg
A ellynoedd buddvaid
Ton a thrin terwyn
Coll, y gnawd orchwyl
Nid trech yu trîn tachar.

Is this phonetic variation or what ? We throw out these

hints to students. The following is a specimen of modern Manks :—

O Yee gloyroil ! Hood's ta shin geam,
Nyn Mriw, nyn Ayr, as Charrey tra a nyn veme,
Haualtagh casherick, Ree dy flaunys,
Ec dty stoyl-reeoil ta shin coyrt ammys.

Glorious God ! on thee we call,
Father, Friend, and Judge of all ;
Holy Saviour, heavenly King,
Homage to Thy throne we bring.

It is from a translation of Tupper's "Hymn for all Nations."

But we wish competent Irish scholars would enter on researches that are left almost entirely to Germans, though Irishmen are most deeply concerned in them. It reflects discredit on Ireland that her scholars have done so little in general Celtic rematological investigations. O'Donovan saved them from absolute disgrace. Pictet, of Geneva, should never have been left to demonstrate the affinity of the Celtic with Sanscrit ; nor Pritchard to demonstrate the eastern origin of the Celtic people. What an array of names stands in reproach ! Bopp, with his "Celtischen Sprachen in ihren Verhältniss zum Sanskrit, Zend," &c. ; Leo, with his "Abhandlung zur deutschen und keltischen Sprache," and "Irische Grammatik ;" Körner and Sparschuh, each with his "Keltische Studien." Then there is Herman Ebel, whose Celtic studies have been so well translated and criticised by Dr. W. K. Sullivan. Zeüss next advances a great authority and name. Barth, with his "Weber die Druiden der Kelten und die Priester der alten Teutschen," probably not a score of men in Ireland have ever heard of. Then there are Mone, with his "Keltische Forschungen zur Geschichte Mitteleuropas ;" Görres, with his "Die drei Grund-Wurzeln des Celtischen Stammes in Gallien und ihre Einwanderung ;" Keferstein, with his "Ansichten über die Keltischen Alterthümer, die Kelten überhaupt ;" and last, though far from all who could be cited, come Edwards, with his "Recherches sur les Langues Celtiques ;" Holtzmann, with his "Kelten und Germanem ;" and Diefenbach, with his "Celtica."

No Irish scholar has attempted to interfere in the discussion on the formation of the Romance languages. The old Celtic had surely something to do with it ; but who strives to show how much and how. It is a subject that has engaged many great men. The men likely to deal with it on a basis that has scarcely been touched on, and from which much, it appears to us, would come, have however so far shown no inclination for

the theme. A key to the whole controversy is the late Sir G. C. Lewis's "*Essay on the Romance Languages*," a work in its province without equal in English literature. We live in hope to see an Irishman address himself to the problem. But we warn him. He must exercise great self-restraint, and employ severe analysis. The amiable weakness that would make Gaelic that which may not be Gaelic must be utterly suppressed.

Whether Norse has had influence on Irish should also be made an inquiry; and it manifestly requires that some explanation of the occurrence of apparent Anglo-Saxon words, nouns for the greater part, in Irish should be attempted. It would be equally interesting and instructive to inquire whether, if the Fir Bolg were a low Gothic people, their language grafted itself more or less on the Irish.

We have little room left to us for Professor Blackie and his lecture. He points to the connection of the Gaelic and classic languages. Mr. Blackie's popularity always gains him attentive auditors, and the vigour of his advocacy generally gives success to his efforts. He aims to make Gaelic a study. His lecture has the singularity of being introductory to a course of Greek.

Besides Mr. Blackie's lecture, there are other pleasing signs of Celtic life in Edinburgh. Messrs. Edmonston and Douglas have issued "*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*," with translations by J. F. Campbell, 4 vols.; "*Specimens of Ancient Gaelic Poetry*," collected between 1512 and 1529, with introduction and notes by W. F. Skene; and "*The Four Ancient Books of Wales*," containing the Kymric poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century, with introduction, &c., by W. F. Skene, 2 vols.

It is disgraceful to the whole of us, Saxons and Celts alike, that we leave the real work of Celtic research to continental scholars. With the Celtic root-tongue and three dialects spoken in the very midst of us; with stores of documents of all kinds accessible to inquirers; with, in short, every means at command, we supinely permit the German and the Frenchman to take the honours that ought to rest with ourselves.

The English scholar would find the Celtic a profitable study, and, if he mastered it, a pleasing acquisition. He mistakes who supposes it barbarous and barren; and he equally mistakes who supposes it hard and rugged. The harsh, guttural speech of Irish and Welsh rustics which he hears in the streets of Liverpool, is no more like the utterances of educated men, than the curt, rough sentences of a Lancashire boor are like the polished periods of an Oxford graduate.

Should the dry, hard utilitarian—the practical man, as the slang is—ask why this tumult about dead and dying useless words, we answer with Selden, *Syllables govern the world*; and we add, ill or well, as they accord or dis-accord with the nature, the idiosyncrasies of the people, they are addressed to; as they are well or ill understood.

We have done but scant justice to the Rev. Professor of St. Jarlath's; but we have done the best we could under the circumstances. He has, we repeat, completely and admirably removed all ground of complaint of want of practical introductions to Irish by his Grammar, and his volume of "Easy Lessons in Irish," which, in a few years, have gone through three editions. Let him next produce a good *Dictionary*, at a low price. Duffy's O'Reilly is a fine library book, but too big and too high in price for the generality. The Welsh publish excellent low-priced dictionaries. There may be some obstacle in the way of Irish publishers certainly. Nevertheless, a five-shilling dictionary is a thing very needful.

Turning back to our idea of an Irish *Eisteddfod*, we press consideration of it. In our opinion, nothing could conduce more to the preservation and extension of Irish. What is so successful in Wales would scarcely fail in Ireland. Either more decided means must be taken to promote the language, or its speedy extinction is certain. There may be better means than lie in *Eisteddfods*. It is quite possible. If they exist, let them be developed. We have had sentimental whining enough. Action is required. But if the language must die, let us have no hypocritical lamentation: permit it to die in peace.

ART. IV.—MADAME RÉCAMIER AND HER FRIENDS.

Souvenirs et Correspondance tirés des Papiers de Madame Récamier. Paris : Michel Lévy Frères. 1859.

WE took occasion in our number of last January to trace the fortunes of that distinguished lady who became consort of the greatest, though not the best, of the kings of France. We saw her rise from obscurity to eminence, without being giddy through her elevation ; resisting the fascinations of a licentious court ; imbibing celestial wisdom from hidden sources in proportion to the difficulties of her position ; exerting great influence without abusing the delicate trust ; and at length, bowed with age, retiring into the conventual seclusion of the Establishment her piety had reared, and there breathing her last amid the love and admiration, the prayers and blessings of a thousand friends.

We have now another portrait to hang beside that of Frances de Maintenon—the portrait of one who in some respects resembled her ; who, rising, like her, from an inferior condition, was courted by an Emperor, and betrothed, or all but betrothed, to a Royal prince ; withstood innumerable temptations at a period of boundless corruption ; conciliated the esteem and friendship of the best and wisest men, and then glided into the vale of years through the peaceful shade of the Abbaye-aux-Bois. The first of these ladies was resplendent in talents, the second in beauty ; the one excelled in tact, the other in sweetness and grace ; the one in the sphere of politics and public life, the other in the realm of letters and the private circle. If Madame de Maintenon was the most admired, Madame Récamier was the most loved. Each appeared under a sort of disguise, for one spoke and acted as if she were not the wife of her own husband, and the other as if she were the wife of him who was her husband only in name. Both have had violent detractors ; both are best known by their letters ; and thus, where they agreed and where they differed, they remind us of each other. Of both France is proud, and both, as years pass on, are rising into purer and brighter fame. At the same time it can by no means be said of Madame Récamier, as it may most truly of Madame de Maintenon, that religion was the one animating principle of her life : yet the facts which we have to recount will show—not, indeed,

that religion supplied her with the main ends of her existence, but that it enabled her in a corrupt age to follow the objects of her choice in habitual submission to God's actual commandments.

Julie Bernard, the subject of the present memoir, was born at Lyons, on the 4th of December, 1777. Her father, a notary of that city, was remarkable for his handsome face and fine figure, and Madame Bernard was a noted beauty. She had a passion for show, and during the long illness which ended in her death in 1807, found her chief amusement in dress and ornaments. When Julie was seven years old, her father was appointed to a lucrative post in Paris, and left his little daughter at Villefranche, under the care of an aunt. Here the first of her numberless admirers, a boy of her own age, made a deep impression on her susceptible mind, and here, too, she received her earliest education in the convent of La Déserte. The memory of that hallowed spot, its clouds of incense, its processions in the garden, its hymns and flowers, abode with her, she said, through life like a sweet dream, and to the lessons there taught she ascribed her retention of the faith amid the host of sceptical opinions she encountered in after years. It was not without regret and tears that she bade farewell to the abbess and sisters, and turned her face towards Paris and the attractions of her parents' home. Nothing but accomplishments were thought of to complete her education. The brilliant capital was to supersede the "Déserte" in her affections, and her mother took great pains to make Juliette as frivolous as herself. Her chief attention was given to music, she was taught to play the harp and piano by the first artists, and took lessons in singing from Boïeldieu. This was a real gain, though in a different way from that which was intended. We shall see further on how the skill thus acquired was afterwards employed in the service of religion, and how the habit of playing pathetic airs and pieces soothed many a sad moment when she was old and blind.

Her first contact with royalty was by accident. Her mother had taken her to see a grand banquet at Versailles, to which, as in the days of Louis XIV., the public were admitted as spectators. Juliette was very beautiful, and the queen, struck by her appearance, sent one of her ladies to ask that she might retire with the royal family. Madame Royale was just of the same age as Juliette, and the two children were measured together. Madame Royale also was a beauty, and not over-pleased, it seems, by this close comparison with a girl taken out of a crowd. How little could either foresee the strange fortunes that awaited the other!

Madame Bernard, with her love of display, took a pride also in gathering clever men around her. Laharpe, Lemontey, Barrère, and other members of the Legislative Assembly, frequented her drawing-room, and M. Jacques Récamier, an eminent banker of Paris, and son of a merchant at Lyons, was a constant guest. His character was easy and jovial; he wrote capital letters, spouted Latin, made plenty of money, spent it fast, and was often the dupe of his generosity and good humour. He had always been kind to Juliette, and had given her heaps of playthings. When, therefore, in 1793, he asked her hand in marriage, she consented without any repugnance, though Madame Bernard explained to her the inconveniences which might arise from their disparity of age, habits, and tastes—M. Récamier being forty-two and Juliette only fifteen. The wedding took place; but their union is a mystery which has never been solved with certainty. To her nominal husband she was never anything but a daughter. Her niece, Madame Lenormant, says she can only attest the fact, which was well-known to all intimate friends, but that she is not bound (*chargée*) to explain it. Madame M——, another biographer, believes, as did many besides, that she was in reality M. Récamier's daughter; that, living, as everyone did during the reign of terror, in fear of the guillotine, he wished to be able to leave her his fortune in case of his death; and in the meantime, to place her in a splendid position; that Madame Récamier, made aware of her real parentage, would of course be the last to reveal and publish her mother's shame; and that this story, carefully borne in mind, explains all the anomalies of her life.

To this strange alliance, however, is due the formation of the most remarkable literary salon of the present age. It represented more perfectly than any other those of the Hôtel Rambouillet and of Madame de Sablé in the seventeenth century; of Madame Geoffrin, Madame d'Houdetot, and Madame Suard, in the eighteenth;* and it surpassed in solid attractions those of Madame de Staël at Coppet, and of Madame d'Albany of Florence, of which it was the cotemporary. She was herself its life, and diffused over it a charm no biography can seize. So young and fair, so fascinating yet so innocent, she riveted every gaze, and attracted all hearts without yielding to any. Like the colouring of a landscape which changes every hour, she defied description, and found no adequate reflex save in the fond esteem and faithful memory of those who knew her. Yet her nearest and dearest friends felt that she was above

* "Causeries du Lundi," par Sainte-Beuve. Tome i. pp. 114, 115.

them ; and it might be said of her, as Saint-Simon said of the Duchesse de Bourgogne, that she walked like a goddess on clouds. Her beauty made her popular, and she was talked of everywhere ; for the Parisians at this time, like refined pagans, affected the worship of beauty under every form. She seemed, therefore, by general consent, to have a natural mission to restore society, which a series of revolutions had completely disorganized, and her power of drawing people together and harmonizing what party politics had unstrung, became more apparent every day. By birth she belonged to the people, by tastes and manners to the aristocracy, and had thus a double hold over those who, with republican principles, were fast returning to early associations of rank and order.

It was a happy day when the churches were re-opened in Paris, and the soft swelling notes of the *O Salutaris Hostia* filled the crowded fanes once more. It was as the pæan of the faithful over the scattered army of unbelief. Madame Récamier was in request. She held the plate for some charitable object at Saint-Roch, and collected the extraordinary sum of 20,000 francs. The two gentlemen who attended her could scarcely cleave a way for her through the crowd. People mounted on chairs, on pillars, and the altars of the side chapels, to see her. In these days, dancing was her delight. She was the first to enter the ball-room, and the last to quit it. But this did not last long. She soon gave up the shawldance, for which she was famous, though nothing could be more correct and picturesque than the movements she executed while, with a long scarf in her hands, she made it by turns a sash, a veil, and a drapery—drooping, fluctuating, gliding, attitudinizing, with matchless taste. Her reign was absolute. In the promenades of Longchamps, no carriage was watched like hers ; and every voice pronounced her the fairest.

Twice only in her life did she meet Bonaparte, and to most persons in her position and at that period those moments would have proved fatal. His eye was as keen for female charms as for weak points in the enemy's line. He saw her first in 1797, during a triumphal fête given at the Luxembourg Palace in his honour. He had just returned from his marvellous campaign in Italy, and genius was reaping the laurels too seldom bestowed on solid worth. Madame Récamier was not insensible to his military prowess. She stood up to observe his features more plainly, and a long murmur of admiration filled the hall. The young conqueror turned his head impatiently. Who dared to divide public attention with the hero of Castiglione and Rivoli ? He darted

a harsh glance at his rival, and she sank into her seat. But the beautiful vision rested in his memory. He saw her once again, about two years later, and spoke with her. It was at a banquet given by his brother Lucien, then Minister of the Interior. Madame Récamier as usual was all in white, with a necklace and bracelets of pearls. The First Consul paid her marked attention, and his words, though insignificant in themselves, meant more than met the ear. His manners, however, were simple and pleasing, and he held a little girl of four years old, his niece, by the hand. He chid Madame Récamier for not sitting next him at dinner, fixed his gaze on her during the music, sent Fouché to express to her his admiring regard, and told her himself that he should like to visit her at Clichy. But Juliette, though respectful, was discreet. Time flowed on; Napoleon became Emperor, and from the giddy height of the imperial throne bethought him of the incomparable lady in white. He had a double conquest to make. Her château was the resort of emigrant nobles who had returned to France, and whose sympathies were all with the past. To break up her circle, to gain her over to his interests, to enhance by her presence the splendour of his dissolute court, were objects well worthy of his plotting, ambitious, and unscrupulous nature. Fouché was again employed as tempter. He remonstrated with her on the species of opposition to the Emperor's policy, which was fostered in her salons, but found her little disposed to make concessions, or avow any liking for the despot. His genius and exploits, she admitted, had dazzled her at first, but her sentiments had entirely changed since her friends had been persecuted, the Duc d'Enghien put to death, and Madame de Staël driven into exile. In spite of these frank avowals, which were equally respectful and fearless, Fouché persisted in his design, and in the park around Madame Récamier's elegant retreat, urged her, in the Emperor's name, to accept the post of *dame du palais* to the Empress. His majesty had never yet found a woman worthy of him, and it was impossible to say how deep might be his affection for one like her; how wholesome an influence she might exert over him; what services she might render to the oppressed of all classes; and how much she might "enlighten the Emperor's religion!" Madame Murat, to her shame, seconded these proposals, and expressed her earnest desire that Madame Récamier should be attached to her household, which was now put on the same footing as that of the Empress. To these reiterated advances, Madame Récamier returned the most decided refusal, alleging, by way of courtesy, her love of independence as the cause. At last, foiled and irritated, Fouché

—the Mephistopheles of the piece—quitted Clichy, never to return.

The Consular episode in Madame Récamier's life has made us anticipate some important events. We must return to the first years of her marriage. It was in 1798 that some negotiations between her husband and M. Necker, the ex-minister of Louis XVI., brought her in contact with that statesman's celebrated daughter, Madame de Staël. At their first interview a sympathy sprung up between the two ladies which ended in a lasting friendship. Madame Récamier lived in her friends, and her circle was a host ever increasing, for she always talked much and fondly of the friends of former years. She could say, like the *Cid*, "five hundred of my friends." Yet she had her degrees of attachment. They were, to use the beautiful simile of Hafiz, like the pearls of a necklace, and she the silken cord on which they lay. The chief of this favoured circle were four—Madame de Staël among womankind, and for the rest Chateaubriand, Ballanche, and Montmorency.

M. Necker's hôtel in the Rue du Mont-Blanc having been purchased by M. Récamier, no cost was spared in its decoration. It was a model of elegance, and every object of furniture down to the minutest ornament was designed and executed expressly for it. Here the opulent husband was installed, while the fair hostess held her court at the château of Clichy. M. Récamier dined with her daily, and in the evening returned to Paris. No political distinction prevailed in her assemblies, but the restored emigrants were peculiarly welcome. Like Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, and almost all reflective persons in our age, she thought monarchy had better be limited by a parliament than, as Talleyrand said, by assassination. Yet revolutionary generals and military dukes gathered round her side by side with the Duc de Guignes, Adrien and Mathieu de Montmorency, and other representatives of the fallen aristocracy. In her presence they forgot their differences, at least for awhile, and lost insensibly the asperity of party prejudice.

Duc Mathieu de Montmorency was Madame Récamier's senior by seventeen years. He had served in America in the regiment of Auvergne, of which his father was colonel, and on his return to France abandoned himself to all the pleasures and fashions of the world. His residence in the land of Penn and Washington had imbued him with republican notions, which he shared with a clique of young noblemen like himself. Such persons, as is well known, were among the earliest victims of the revolution they hurried on. Duc Mathieu

emigrated in 1792, and soon afterwards learned in Switzerland that his brother, the Abbé de Laval, whom he tenderly loved, had been beheaded. Remorse filled his breast, and drove him almost to madness. He charged himself with his brother's death. It was he who had proposed in the States General the abolition of the privileges of nobility, approved the sequestration of Church property, and strengthened the hands of Mirabeau and the power of that Assembly which paved the way for regicide and the reign of terror. Madame de Staël was his intimate friend. She had shared his political enthusiasm, and did all in her power to soothe him. But religion alone could pour balm into his smarting wounds. His conversion was complete and lasting. The impetuous, seductive, and frivolous young man became known to all as a fervent and strict Christian. Sainte-Beuve speaks of him as a "saint." Extreme delicacy of language indicated the inward discipline he underwent; while the warmth of his feelings and the solidity of his judgment inspired at the same time confidence and regard. His friendship for Madame de Staël continued, though their religious convictions differed, and he was alive to the imperfections of her character. He hoped one day to see her triumph over herself, and his solicitude for Madame Récamier was equal, though in another way. Over her he watched continually like a loving parent. He trembled lest she should at last fall a victim to the gay world which so much admired her, and which she sought to please. To shine without sinning is difficult indeed. Montmorency's letters prove the depth and purity of his affection. His intimacy with his *aimable amie* lasted unbroken during seven-and-twenty years, and ended only with his death.

Montmorency's death was the fitting sequel of a holy and useful life. It happened in 1826. He had recently been elected one of the Forty of the French Academy, and had also been appointed governor to the Duc de Bordeaux, the grandson and heir of Charles X. He had gone to the Church of St. Thomas d'Aquin on Good Friday, apparently in perfect health, and was kneeling before the altar and the "faithful Cross on which the world's salvation hung," when his head bowed lower, and in a moment the bitterness of death was past.

Laharpe was another distinguished man to be numbered among the lovers of Madame Récamier's society. He had known her from a child, and when his exquisite taste in literature had obtained for him the title of the French Quintilian his regard was not lessened for one whose reputation was as flourishing as his own. He passed weeks at Clichy, and when he re-opened his course of lectures on French literature at the

Athenæum, she had a place reserved for her near his chair. The letters she received from him are equally affectionate and respectful. He too had been converted through the excesses of that revolution which he had in the first instance encouraged. After suffering imprisonment in 1794, his ideas and conduct underwent a total change, and he resolved to devote his pen for the rest of his days to the service of religion. The energy with which he denounced "philosophers" and demagogues drew upon him proscription, and it was only by concealing himself that he escaped being transported. Of all revolutions that of France in the last century has, by the horror it excited and the reaction it produced, tended more than any other to consolidate monarchy, discredit scepticism, and promote the salvation of souls. It is a beacon-fire kindled to warn nations of the rocks and shoals—the faults of rule and the crimes of misrule—by which society may suddenly be broken up and civilization retarded.

Montmorency was a statesman, Laharpe a man of letters; let us now turn to another friend of Madame Récamier's, who from a private soldier rose to be a king and leave a dynasty behind him. This was Bernadotte. In 1802, M. Bernard was postmaster general, and suspected of complicity in a royalist correspondence that menaced the government. Madame Récamier was one day entertaining a few guests at dinner, and Eliza Bonaparte, afterwards Grand Duchess of Tuscany, was present by her own invitation. On rising from table a note was placed in the hands of the hostess announcing the arrest and imprisonment of M. Bernard. To whom should she have recourse at such a moment but to the First Consul's sister? She must see him, she said, that very evening. Would Madame Baccocchi procure her an interview? The princess was cold. She would advise Madame Récamier to see Fouché first. "And where shall I find you again, madam, if I do not succeed?" asked Madame Récamier. "At the Théâtre Français," was the reply; "in my box, with my sister."

Nothing could be gained from Fouché except the alarming information that the affair was a very serious one, and that unless Madame Récamier could see the First Consul that night, it would be too late. In the utmost consternation she drove to the Théâtre to remind Madame Baccocchi of her promise. "My father is lost," she said, "unless I can speak with the First Consul to-night." "Well, wait till the tragedy is over," replied the Princess, with an air of indifference, "and then I shall be at your service. Happily there was one in the box whose dark eyes, fixed on the agonized daughter, expressed

clearly the interest he felt in her position. He leant forward, and explaining to the Princess that Madame Récamier appeared quite ill, offered to conduct her to the chief of the government. Madame Bacciocchi readily assented, and gladly resigned the suppliant to Bernadotte's charge. Again and again he promised to obtain that the proceedings against M. Bernard should be stopped, and repaired immediately to the Tuileries. The same night he returned to Madame Récamier, who was counting the moments till he re-appeared. His suit had been successful, and he soon after procured the prisoner's release. Madame Récamier accompanied him to the Temple on the day M. Bernard was delivered. He was deprived of his post, for, though pardoned, he had undoubtedly been guilty of a treasonable correspondence with the *Chouans*.

This was the foundation of Bernadotte's friendship with Madame Récamier. "Neither time," he wrote to her, when adopted by Charles XIII. as his son and heir—"neither time nor Northern ice will ever cool my regard for you." He had many noble qualities, and did much for Sweden. We could forgive him for joining the coalition against France, if he had not embraced Lutheranism for the sake of a crown.

During the short peace of Amiens, in 1802, Madame Récamier visited England, where she received the kindest attentions from the Duchess of Devonshire, Lord Douglas, the Prince of Wales, and the Duc D'Orleans, afterwards King of the French. Those who can refer to the English newspapers of that year will find that all the movements of the beautiful stranger were regularly gazetted.

But where is Madame de Staël? In the autumn of 1803 she was exiled by Bonaparte, who feared her talents and disliked her politics. As the daughter of Necker and the friend of limited monarchy, she was particularly obnoxious to one who represented both democracy and absolutism. Madame Récamier, with her habitual generosity, offered her an asylum at Clichy, which she accepted, under the impression that her farther removal from Paris would not be insisted on. Junot, afterwards the Duc d'Abrantes, their mutual friend, interested himself in her behalf, but without success. Her sentence of exile was confirmed; she was not to approach within forty leagues of the capital. So she wandered through Germany, and collected materials for her *Allemagne* and *Dix années d'Exil*. At Weimar she studied German literature under Goethe, Wieland, and Schiller, and in 1805 held her court at Coppet, in the Canton de Vaud. Here occurred, as we shall presently see, one of the most singular episodes in Madame

Récamier's life. She, with Madame de Staël in Switzerland, and Madame d'Albany in Florence, divided the empire of literary *salons* on the Continent; and each of these ladies felt in turn the weight of the despot of Europe's sceptre.* In 1810 the writer of *Corinne* became the guest of Mathieu de Montmorency, near Blois, and within the prescribed distance from Paris. In the château of Catherine de Medici she collected round her a few friends, who were fearless of annoyance and exile. But her work on Germany abounded with allusions to the Imperial police. The whole edition of ten thousand copies was seized, and she received an order from the Duc de Rovigo to return immediately to Switzerland. Madame Récamier, faithful and courageous, followed her, though timid advisers prophesied that no good would come of such imprudence. She stayed there only a day and a half, and then pursued her way in haste to Paris. But the sentence of exile had already gone forth against her. The calm and religious Duke Mathieu had just before expiated in like manner the crime of visiting the illustrious exile. Her book on Germany did not contain a line directly against the Emperor; but it was enough that the authoress's heart beat with the pulses of rational freedom, and the Corsican's tyranny became minute in proportion to the territory over which it spread. Thus the ladies, who so loved each other, were not only exiled, but separated. Rivers rolled and Alps rose between them; lest, perchance, they should combine their elegant and harmless pursuits.

The limits allowed us in this article do not admit of our tracing the events of Madame Récamier's life in strict chronological order, and bringing out by degrees the character and history of her several friends. Each of them in turn will lead us away from the main thread of our story, and we hope that our readers will follow us with indulgence when we are obliged to take it up again rather awkwardly. We cannot do otherwise than mass together many things which had better be kept apart.

One day, in the autumn of 1806, Monsieur Récamier brought some dismal news to Clichy. The financial condition of Spain and her colonies, combined with other untoward events, had placed his Bank in such jeopardy that, unless the Government could be induced to advance him £40,000 on good security, he must stop payment within two days. A large party had been invited to dinner; and the hostess, suppressing her emotions with extraordinary self-command, did the honours of

* "Comtesse d'Albany," par M. St. Réne Taillandier, p. 229.
VOL. V.—NO. IX. [*New Series.*]

her house in a manner calculated to obviate alarm. It was a golden opportunity for Imperial vengeance, and it was not lost. All aid from the Bank of France was refused, and the much-envied *Maison Récamier* was made over, with all its liabilities, to the hands of its creditors. So cruel a reverse was enough to try the fortitude of the most Christian. Nor was Madame Récamier found wanting in that heroic quality. Indeed, there are few women who, taken all in all, would serve better to enforce Eliza Farnham's ingenious arguments for the superiority of her sex.* While her husband's spirit was almost broken under the blow, she calmly, if not cheerfully, sold her last jewel, and occupied a small apartment on the ground floor of her splendid mansion. The rest of the house was let to Prince Pignatelli, and ultimately sold. The French have their faults—great faults; what nation has not? but let us do them the justice to say that in their friendships they are faithful. The poor wife of the ruined banker was as much honoured and courted by them in her adversity as she had been when surrounded with every luxury and every facility for hospitable entertainments. Let those who would form an idea of the sympathy expressed by her friends read that touching letter of Madame de Staël which Chateaubriand has preserved.† The opulent and gay, the learned, the brilliant, the serious, came in troops to that garden of the hotel in the Rue du Mont Blanc, where the unsullied and queenly rose was bending beneath the storm. The jealous Emperor, at the head of his legions in Germany, heard of the interest she excited; for Junot, just returned from Paris, could not refrain from reporting at length what he had seen. But Napoleon interrupted him with impatience, saying, "The widow of a field-marshal of France, killed on the battle-plain, would not receive such honours!" And why should she? Is there no virtue but that of valour? Are there no conquests but those of the sword?

The trial which Juliette bore so patiently was fatal to her mother. Madame Bernard's health had long been declining; laid on a couch, and elegantly attired, she received visits daily; but her strength gave way altogether when her daughter fell from her high estate. She little knew that Madame Récamier was on the very point of having a royal Prince for her suitor. Only three months after the failure of the bank Madame Bernard passed away, deeply lamented by

* "Woman and her Era." 2 vols. New York.

† In the "*Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*."

her loving daughter, whom filial piety made blind or indulgent to her imperfections.

Prince Augustus of Prussia was a nephew of Frederic the Great. Chivalrous, brave, and handsome, he united very ardent feelings with candour, loyalty, and love of his country. He had, in October, 1806, been made prisoner at the battle of Saalfeld, where his brother, Prince Louis, had fallen fighting at his side. The mourning he still wore added to his dignity, and the society and scenery in the midst of which Madame Récamier first met him, deepened the charm of his presence and devoted attentions.

It was in 1807, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, hallowed to the thoughtful mind by so many historic associations, and encircled by all the gorgeous loveliness of which Nature is so lavish in the valleys of the Alps. There, in the château of Madame de Staël, Juliette listened during three months to his earnest conversation, and heard him propose that she should be his bride. Her marriage with M. Récamier presented no real difficulty; it was a civil marriage only; the peculiar case was one in which the Catholic Church admits of declaration of nullity; and for which, in Protestant Germany, legal divorce could very easily be obtained. Madame de Staël's imagination was kindled by this romantic incident, and she did not fail to second the Prince's suit. Juliette herself was fully alive to the honours that were proposed her. It was no impoverished refugee that sought her hand. Though a prisoner for the moment, he would, doubtless, soon be set at liberty, and he was as proud as any of his exalted rank. Yielding, therefore, to the sentiments he inspired, Madame Récamier wrote to her husband to ask his consent to a separation. This he could not refuse; but, while granting it, he seems to have appealed to her feelings with a degree of earnestness which profoundly touched her heart. He had, he said, been her friend from childhood; and, if she must form another union, he trusted it would not take place in Paris, nor even in France. His letter turned the current of her desires. She thought of his long kindness, his age, his misfortune, and resolved not to abandon him. Religious considerations may also have weighed with her, for Prince Augustus did not hold the true faith. He had, moreover, two natural daughters, the Countesses of Waldenburg, and this circumstance also may have indisposed her to the match.* He had, as she once said, many fancies. Would a morganatic marriage bind his wandering heart, or could she

* "Madame Récamier," by Madame M—.

endure the pain of being expatriated for ever? They parted without any definite engagement, but he repaired to Berlin to obtain his family's consent. Madame Récamier returned to Paris; and, though she declined the honour of his hand on the ground of her responding imperfectly to his affection, she sent him her portrait, which he treasured till the day of his death. A ring which she also gave him was buried with him, and they never ceased while on earth to correspond in terms of the warmest friendship. In 1815 the Prince entered Paris with the victorious legions of allied Europe, having written to his friend from every city that he entered; and in 1825 they had their last interview in the Abbaye-aux-Bois.

We must now follow her into exile. It was in the latter part of 1811 that she took up her abode in the dreary town of Châlons-sur-Marne, which happened to be just as far from Paris as she was required to live, and no farther. The Prefect was an amiable man, and retained his post during forty years, enjoying the confidence of each government in succession. But that which alleviated most the dulness of Châlons was its neighbourhood to many beloved friends, particularly Montmorency. In June, 1812, however, she quitted it for Lyons, being unwilling to compromise those who were most ready to console her in exile. Many a château round had claimed the happiness of entertaining her; but to be kind to those who are suspected is always to draw suspicion on oneself. Renouncing many delights within her reach, she had sought one of the purest in playing the organ in the parish church, both during the week and on Sundays at High Mass and Vespers. She did the same at Albano during her stay there in the ensuing year.

Italy, and above all Rome, attracts sooner or later whatever is most cultivated in mind and taste. Thither, in 1813, Madame Récamier turned her steps. She was attended by her niece and her maid. Montmorency accompanied her as far as Chambery, and her carriage was well supplied with books, which M. Ballanche had selected to beguile the tedium of the way. This gentleman was the son of a printer at Lyons, and his genius became his fortune. His prose writings were considered a model of style, and ultimately obtained him a place in the French Academy. Neglecting subjects of the day, he uniformly indulged his fondness for abstract speculation, and in several works ingeniously set forth his ideas on the progress of mankind through alternate periods of revival and decay.* He was profoundly Christian at heart, but coupled his belief

* "Institutions Sociales," 1818. "Palingénésie Sociale," 1830.

in the Fall and Redemption with peculiar notions respecting human perfectibility. His mind was dreamy, his system mystical, but he realized intensely the existence of things unseen, and declared that "he was more sure of the next world than of this present." He mistrusted, indeed, the reality of material phenomena, and rested in the thought of two, and two only, luminously self-evident beings, himself and his Creator. But genius is a dangerous gift to the student of theology, and perhaps Ballanche would have been more sound if he had been less clever. From the moment he saw Madame Récamier, he became ardently attached to her society. Her praise was his richest reward, and the prospect of reading his essays and poems to her more than doubled the pleasure of composing them. The first time he conversed with her a curious incident occurred. After getting over the difficulty he experienced in talking on ordinary topics, he had risen to a higher strain, and expatiated in glowing language on philosophical and literary subjects, till Madame Récamier, who had for some time been much incommoded by the smell of the detestable blacking with which his shoes had been cleaned, was obliged to tell him timidly that she really could not bear it any longer. M. Ballanche apologized humbly, left the room, and returning a minute later without his shoes, took up the conversation where he had dropped it, and was soon in the clouds again. But his shoes were not his only drawback. He was hideously ugly, and that by a cruel mishap. A charlatan, like the one who practised upon Scarron, had prescribed such violent remedies for his headaches that his jaw had become carious, and a part of it was removed by trepanning. A terrible inroad was made on one of his cheeks by this operation; but his magnificent eyes and lofty forehead redeemed his uncomely traits, and amid all his awkwardness and timidity his friends always discerned an expression of tenderness and often a kind of inspiration breathing from his face. Madame Récamier's talents were of a high order, for she could appreciate those of others. She soon forgot Ballanche's shoes, forgot his ungainly movements and ghastly deformity, and fixed her gaze on that inner man which was all nobility and gentleness, glowing with poetry, and steeped in the dews of Hermon. Let us leave him now at Lyons: we shall meet him again before long.

There was a vast and dreary city towards the south of Italy which had once been called Rome. It was now the capital of the department of the Tiber! Without the Cæsars or the Pope it was Rome no more. No foreigners thronged its streets and fanes, its prelates were scattered, and its scanty inhabitants looked sullenly on the Frank soldiers who turned its

palaces and sanctuaries into barracks. Hither came Madame Récamier, and her apartment in the Corso was soon hailed as an oasis in the wilderness. All the strangers in the deserted capital, and many of the Romans, paid their court to this queen of society; and Canova, one of the few stars left in the twilight, visited her every evening, and wrote to her every morning. He chiselled her bust as no hand but his could chisel it, and seized ideal beauty while copying what was before him. He called it "Beatrice," and it was worthy of the name. Ballanche, too, came all the way from Lyons to visit the universal favourite. He travelled night and day, and could remain at Rome only one week. The very evening of his arrival Madame Récamier began to do the honours of the Eternal City. Three carriages full of friends drove from her house to St. Peter's and the Coliseum, where they all alighted. Ballanche moved solemnly with his hands beside him, overpowered by the grandeur of all around. On a sudden his *parfaite amie* looked back. He was not without his shoes this time, but without his hat! "M. Ballanche," she said, "where is your hat?" "Ah!" replied the philosopher, "I have left it at Alexandria." And so it was—so little did his thoughts dwell on external life.

From Rome the travellers proceeded to Naples. A cordial welcome awaited Madame Récamier from Caroline Bonaparte, whom she had known of old. A page from the royal palace brought her a magnificent basket of fruit and flowers immediately on her arrival, and she soon became the confidante of both King and Queen. Joachim Murat sat on a usurped throne, and was reaping the bitter fruits of a false position. Duty bound him to Napoleon, interest to the Allies. First he was perfidious to his master, next to his colleagues. One day he entered his wife's saloon in great agitation, and finding Madame Récamier, avowed to her that he had signed the coalition. He then asked her opinion of his act, taking it for granted that it would be favourable. But, though not an imperialist, she was a Frenchwoman. "Sire!" she replied, "you are French, and to France you should be faithful." Murat turned pale. "I am a traitor then," he exclaimed, and, opening the window in haste, pointed to the British fleet sailing into the bay. Then, burying his face in his hands, he sunk upon a sofa and wept. The year after, faithless alike to Europe and to the empire, a tempest cast him on the shore of Pizzo, and he was taken and shot like a brigand!

A dense crowd was collected in the Piazza del Popolo to see the entry of Pius VII., after the Apollyon of kingdoms had been sent to Elba. The Roman nobles and gentlemen headed

the procession, and their sons drew the pontiff's carriage. In it he knelt, with his hair unsilvered by age, and his fine face expressing deep humility. His hand was extended to bless his people, but his head bowed before the Almighty Disposer of human events. It was the triumph of a confessor rather than of a sovereign,—of a principle, not of a person. Never did such a rain of tears fall on the marble paving of St. Peter's as when at last he traversed the church and prostrated himself before the altar over the tomb of the Apostles. Then the *Te Deum* rose and echoed through those gorgeous arches, and Madame Récamier was not insensible to the affecting scene. Before leaving Rome the second time, she paid a farewell visit to General Miollis, who had commanded the French forces. He was extremely touched by this civility, and received her in a villa he had bought, and which still bears his name. He was quite alone, with an old soldier for his servant. She was, he said, the only person who had called upon him since he had ceased to govern Rome.

After three years' absence she returned to Paris, and, still radiant with beauty and overflowing with gladness, resumed her undisputed empire over polite society. Her husband had regained his lost ground, and was again a prosperous banker, while she possessed in her own right a fortune inherited from her mother. The restoration of Louis XVIII. had changed the face of her salon and of society in general. Her friends were once more in power, and those who had vexed her and them were banished or forgotten. The Duke of Wellington often visited her, and she presented him to Queen Hortense. He shocked her, however, after the battle of Waterloo, by saying of Napoleon, "I have well beaten him!" She had no love for the ex-Emperor; but France was her country, and she could not exult over its defeat. Her niece declares that Wellington was not free from intoxication with his success, and that nothing but the indignant murmurs of the pit prevented him from entering the royal box with his aides-de-camp.* Madame de Staël died in 1817, and her friend, Mathieu de Montmorency, gathered up with piety and hope every indication of a religious spirit which she had left behind. She never raised her eyes to heaven without thinking of him, and she believed that in his prayers his spirit answered hers.† Prayer, she wrote, was the bond which united all religious beings in one, and the life of the soul. Sin and suffering were inseparable, and she had

* "Souvenirs de Madame Récamier," vol. i. p. 268.

† "Dix années d'Exil."

never done wrong without falling into trouble. During the long sleepless nights of her last illness she repeated constantly the Lord's Prayer to calm her mind, and she learnt to enjoy the "Imitation of Jesus Christ."

The void she left in Madame Récamier's circle was filled by one whose writings were the talk and admiration of Europe. This was Chateaubriand. Professor Robertson has lately brought him very agreeably to our remembrance in his able and interesting Lectures on Modern History. The Duc de Noailles, that cotemporary, as he has been called, of Louis XIV., pronounced his eulogy when taking his place in the French Academy, and he has left us his biography in the most charming form in which that of any one can be read, viz., written by himself. The portrait a man draws of himself in writing rarely deceives; for the very attempt to falsify would betray the real character. Chateaubriand's vanity escapes him in his Memoirs as frequently as it did in his conversation, yet there cannot be a doubt that he had great qualities, and has built himself an enduring name. That extreme refinement of thought which is inseparable from genius makes him difficult to appreciate, and the phases of society through which he passed were so conflicting as to be fatal to the consistency of almost all public men. Yet he was on the whole faithful through life to his first principles. At one time he defended monarchy, at another freedom, pleading most eloquently for that which for the moment seemed most in danger. He knew the value of their mutual support, and, like all who move on a double line, he was often misunderstood. Born of an ancient and noble family, he chose at the same time the profession of arts and arms. The popular excesses of 1791 drove him from Paris, and he embarked for America. There, in the immense forests and savannas of Canada and the Floridas, often living among savages, he stored up materials for his early romances, and acquired that grandeur and depth of colouring in descriptions of natural scenery for which he is so remarkable. He was near the tropics, in the land of the fire-fly and humming-bird, when he heard of the flight of Louis XVI. and his arrest at Varennes. Hastening back to rejoin the standard of his royal master, he again took arms, and was seriously wounded at the siege of Thionville. From Jersey he was transported to London, where he lived in extreme want, taught French, and translated for publishers. Here, too, he produced his first work, which was tainted with the infidelity of the day. The death of his pious mother recalled him to a better mind, and awakened in him a train of thought which issued at length in the "*Génie du Christianisme*."

"*Atala*" and "*René*," likewise under the form of romance, serving as episodes to his great work, avenged the cause of religion, and powerfully aided in producing a reaction in favour of Christianity. The First Consul hailed the rising star, and attached him as secretary to Cardinal Fesch's embassy at Rome. In 1804 he had just been appointed to represent France in the republic of Valais, when he heard of the odious execution of the Duc d'Enghien, and immediately sent in his resignation. He could serve a ruler who had brought order out of chaos, but not an assassin. From that day he never ceased to be hostile to the empire. After wandering, as Ampère did later, along the classic shores of Greece and the monuments of Egypt, and kissing the footprints of his Redeemer on the Mount of Calvary, he returned to France, and in the Vallée-aux-Loups composed his prose poem, the "*Martyrs*," in which, as in "*Fabiola*" and "*Callista*," the glowing imagery of pagan art is blended with the ethical grandeur of the religion of Christ. A place was awarded him in the French Academy, which he was not permitted to take till the Bourbons were restored. Their return filled him with joy, and a pamphlet he had written against Bonaparte was said by Louis XVIII. to have been worth an army to his cause. On the escape of Napoleon from Elba he accompanied the King to Ghent, and, on re-entering Paris, was raised to the peerage and made minister of state. In 1816, having published his "*Monarchy according to the Charter*," he lost the royal favour and his honorary title. His work, however, continues to this day "a text-book of French constitutional law."*

Such was the statesman, apologist, philosopher, and poet, who, in his forty-ninth year, obtained an ascendancy over Madame Récamier's imagination so complete that the religious Montmorency trembled, and the thoughtful Ballanche dreamed some ill. They thought, too, that her manners changed towards them, but she soon restored their confidence. It would be vain, indeed, to deny that her regard for Chateaubriand caused her many anxious thoughts and secret tears, particularly when, after a few years, he neglected her for the din of political debate and the society of beings less exalted and pure. But this estrangement was only temporary, and both before it and after it, till he died, her daily task was to soothe the irritability to which poets are said to be especially subject; to amuse him herself, as Madame de Maintenon amused Louis XIV.; and to surround him with those who,

* Robertson's "Lectures," p. 291.

for her sake as well as for his, laboured for the same charitable end.

Another reverse befell her in 1819. M. Récamier failed again, and £4,000, which his wife had invested in his bank, went with the rest. Trusting in the security of his position, she had shortly before purchased a house in the Rue d'Anjou and furnished it handsomely. There was a garden belonging to it, and an alley of linden-trees, where Chateaubriand tells us he used to walk with Madame Récamier. But the house and garden were sold, and the occupant removed to a small apartment in the quaint old Abbaye-aux-Bois. She placed her husband and M. Bernard with M. Bernard's aged friend in the neighbourhood, and dined with them, her niece, Ballanche, and Paul David every day. In the evening she received company, and her cell soon became the fashion, if not the rage. It was an incommodious room, with a brick floor, on the third story. The staircase was irregular; and Chateaubriand complains of being out of breath when he reached the top. A piano, a harp, books, a portrait of Madame de Staël, and a view of Coppet by moonlight, adorned it. Flower-pots stood in the windows; and in the green garden beneath nuns and boarders were seen walking to and fro. The top of an acacia rose to a level with the eye, tall spires stood out against the sky, and the hills of Sèvres bounded the distant horizon. The setting sun used to gild the picture and pierce through the open casements. Birds nestled in the Venetian blinds, and the hum of the great city scarce broke the silence.

Here Madame Récamier received every morning a note from Chateaubriand, and here he came at three o'clock so regularly that the neighbours, it is said, used to set their watches by his approach. Few persons were allowed to meet him, for he was singular and exclusive; but, when evening closed, the *élite* of France, and half the celebrities of Europe, found their way here by turns. The Duchess of Devonshire and Sir Humphrey Davy, Maria Edgeworth, Humboldt, Villemain, Montalembert, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Sainte-Beuve were frequent guests, and so also was one who deserves more special notice, Jean Jacques Ampère.

It was on the 1st of January, 1820, that his illustrious father presented him, then in his twentieth year, to the circle of friends who met at the Abbaye-aux-Bois.* The enthusiasm with which he spoke, the gentleness of his disposition, the nobility of his sentiments, and the brilliancy of his talents, soon secured him a high place in Madame Récamier's esteem.

* *Le Correspondant*, Mai, 1864, p. 45.

He attached himself to her with an ardour that never cooled, and that appeared quite natural to the elder guests who had long experienced her magical influence. During the career of fame which he ran her counsels were his guide, and her goodness his theme. However deep his studies, however distant his wanderings, among the surges of the Catagat or the pyramids of the Pharaohs, his thoughts always reverted to her, and letters full of respect and devotion proved how amiable was his character, how observant and gifted his mind.

In November, 1823, he and the faithful Ballanche accompanied her to Italy. Her niece, whom she treated as a daughter, was suffering from a pulmonary complaint, and change was thought desirable for her. Chateaubriand's visits had grown less frequent. A political rivalry also had sprung up between her dearest friends, Chateaubriand having, in December, 1822, accepted the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs vacant by the resignation of Mathieu de Montmorency. They disdained alike riches and honours, but each was bent on the triumph of a conviction, and on linking his name with a public act. Many thorns beset her path in consequence of their disunion, and absence for a time from France seemed to offer several advantages. She fully possessed the confidence of Madame de Chateaubriand, and all who knew the *capricieux immortel*, as that lady called her husband, were of opinion that by going to Italy she might avoid many occasions of bitterness, and recall him to a calmer and nobler frame.

Nearly a month was passed in the journey from Paris to Rome. The travellers paused in every town, and explored its monuments, churches, and libraries. During the halt at midday, and again in the evening, they talked over all they had seen, and read aloud by turns. Ballanche and his young friend Ampère discussed questions of history and philosophy, and Madame Récamier gave an air of elegance to an apartment in the meanest inn. She had her own table-cloth to spread, together with books and flowers; and her presence alone, so dignified, so graceful, invested every place with the charm of poetry. Ballanche and Ampère projected a Guide Book, and thus the latter was unconsciously laying up stores for that graphic "*Histoire Romaine à Rome*,"* on which his reputation as an author mainly rests. The year was just closing when they arrived in Rome. It was here that he met Prince Louis Bonaparte, the present Emperor, who was then a boy, and here he had long and frequent conversations with Prince Napoleon, his elder brother, while Queen Hor-

* Published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1855-57.

tense, then called the Duchess of Saint-Leu, was walking with Madame Récamier in the Coliseum, or the campagna around the church of S. John Lateran or the tomb of Cecilia Metella. Rome was then the asylum of the Bonapartes, as it has ever been the home of the outcast and the consolation of the wretched. The aspect was greatly changed since the former visit. Pius VII. had lately yielded up his saintly spirit to God, and Leo XII. sat on his throne. The fêtes and ceremonies that attended his elevation were all over except that of the pontifical blessing given from the balcony of St. Peter's. Madame Récamier took her place beside the Duchess of Devonshire in joint sovereignty over society at Rome. The Duc de Laval, Montmorency's cousin, who was then the French ambassador, placed his house, horses, and servants at her disposal, and began or ended every evening with her. The Duchess just mentioned was in her sixty-fourth year, and preserved the traces of remarkable beauty. Her eyes were full of fire, her skin was smooth and white. She was tall, erect, queenly, and thin as an apparition. Her skeleton hands and arms were like ivory, and she covered them with bracelets and rings. Her manners were distinguished, and she seemed at the same time very affectionate and rather sad.

The long friendship which subsisted between this English Protestant lady and Cardinal Consalvi was not the least singular feature in her history. Her intimacy with Adrien and Mathieu de Montmorency was such that they always called her the *Duchesse-cousine*, though they were not related to her at all. The Duc de Laval, whom she had known in England, writes thus of her to Madame Récamier, in May, 1823:—

The Duchess and I are agreed in admiring you. She possesses some of your qualities, and they have been the cause of her success through life. She is of all women the most attaching. She rules by gentleness, and is always obeyed. What she did in her youth in London, that she now recommences here. She has all Rome at her disposal—ministers, cardinals, painters, sculptors, society, all are at her feet.

Her days, however, were dwindling to a close, as were those also of Cardinal Consalvi. Just seven months after the decease of Pius VII. that eminent statesman followed him to the tomb. All Rome went to see him laid in state—all except Madame Récamier, who, full of the sorrow which the Duchess would feel for his loss, and imagining that she would only be pained by such idle curiosity, drove to the solitude of the villa Borghese. On alighting from her carriage, she saw the tall and elegant figure of the Duchess in deep mourn-

ing, and looking the picture of despair. To her astonishment the latter proposed that they should go and see the lifeless Cardinal. It was, indeed, a solemn scene. The chaplains had retired for a brief space to dine, and the public were excluded. The ladies only entered to take their last look of human greatness. There he lay—the steady foe of the French revolution and the imperial despot, the minister of two Popes during five-and-thirty years, the able and successful nuncio at the Congress of Vienna. There he lay in the sleep of death, with his purple round him, and with his features still beautiful, calm, and severe.

Madame Récamier and her niece fell on their knees, praying fervently for the departed, and still more so for the lonely friend beside them, who had survived all the affections of her youth. She did not long survive. In March, 1824, she expired after a few days' illness. No one had been allowed to approach her till the last moment, and for this extraordinary exclusion different reasons are assigned. Madame Récamier and the Duc de Laval believed that it was through fear lest she should declare herself a Catholic. They were admitted just before the vital spark was extinguished, and she died while they knelt beside her, and Madame Récamier held her wan hand, and bathed it with tears. After again visiting Naples, after excursions round the gulf, and reading as she went the glowing descriptions of Chateaubriand and De Staël, while the ardent Ampère and the meditative Ballanche supplied their living comments, Madame Récamier returned to spend her second winter in Rome, and enjoy the society of the Duc de Noailles and Madame Swetchine. The duke was in his twenty-third year, and she used to say that he was the last and youngest of those whom she called her real friends. His subsequent history of Madame de Maintenon proves how just a claim he had to be so regarded.

Madame Swetchine, when she arrived in Rome, was imbued with some prejudices against Madame Récamier, but they vanished at the first interview, and the love that sprang up between them was of the holiest kind :—

I feel the want of you (she wrote in 1825) as if we had passed a long time together, as if we had old associations in common. How strange that I should feel so impoverished by losing what a short time since I did not possess ! Surely there is something of eternity in certain emotions. There are souls—and I think yours and mine are among the number—which no sooner come in contact with each other than they throw off the conditions of their mortal existence, and obey the laws of a higher and better world.

After an absence of eighteen months, Madame Récamier returned to Paris. It was in May, 1825. Charles X. was being consecrated at Rheims, and both Chateaubriand and Montmorency were there for the ceremony. When the former received a line to inform him that the cell in the Abbaye was again occupied, he lost no time in paying his usual visit at the same hour as before. Madame Récamier's residence in Italy had produced the desired effect on him. His fitful mood was over. Not a word of explanation or reproach was heard, and from that day to his death, twenty-three years later, the purest and most perfect harmony existed between them. He had again fallen from power, and had been rudely dismissed. His only crime had been silence. He would not advocate the reduction of interest on the public debt, which appeared to him an act of injustice. How many would be half ruined by the change from five to three per cent.! He abstained from voting. De Villèle was incensed, and a heartless note informed one of the greatest men in France that his services were no longer needed. By a strange mishap he did not receive it at the right time, went to the Tuileries, attended a levee, and was going to take his place at a Cabinet Council, when he was told that he was no longer admissible. He had ordered his carriage for a later hour, and was now obliged to walk back in his full court robes through the streets of Paris. He long and bitterly remembered this ungenerous treatment. In his opposition to the Villèle ministry he displayed prodigious talent; and, in January, 1828, it gave place to that of Martignac, and he was himself appointed Ambassador at Rome.

Among the letters he wrote during his embassy, there is one very brief and touching addressed to the little Greek Canaris, then educated in Paris by the Hellenic committee. The emancipation of the Christians of the East, whether Catholic or schismatic, was an object dear to Chateaubriand's heart, as well as to the Royalists in general. The question was not embarrassed by those false views of freedom which make many who love it afraid to speak its praise lest they should seem to countenance its abuse. "My dear Canaris," he says, "I ought to have written to you long ago. Pardon me, for I am full of business. My advice to you is this:—Love Madame Récamier. Never forget that you were born in Greece, and that my country has shed its blood for the freedom of yours. Above all, be a good Christian; that is, an honest man submitting to the will of God. Thus, my dear little friend, you will keep your name on the list of those famous Greeks of yore where your illustrious father has already inscribed it. I embrace you.—Chateaubriand." How delighted must the

young Athenian have been to carry this note to the Abbaye-aux-Bois the next time he went to visit Madame Récamier, as he did on almost every holiday!

We have already spoken of Mathieu de Montmorency's singular death. Madame Récamier was one of the first to hear of it. She hastened to sit beside the corpse of her revered friend, and mingled her tears with those of his mother and widow. The latter, who had always been attached to her, now became her intimate companion, and, when she came to Paris, stayed at the Abbaye expressly to be near her. Even Chateaubriand, who had been Montmorency's political rival, joined the train of mourners, and composed a prayer on the occasion for Madame Récamier's use. It is somewhat inflated, and breathes the language of a poet rather than of a Christian. It ends thus:—"O miracle of goodness! I shall find again in thy bosom the virtuous friend I have lost! Through thee and in thee I shall love him anew, and my entire spirit will once more be united to that of my friend. Then our divine attachment will be shared through eternity." These expressions are overstrained; but they illustrate the character of Madame Récamier's affection for her male friends. Of these Chateaubriand became henceforward the chief, and his letters to her from Rome, together with his subsequent intercourse with her in Paris, form the most important part of her remaining history. Everything was summed up in him,—diplomacy, politics, literature: he was to her, and not to her only, their chief representative. His correspondence, as preserved by her niece, is sparkling and pointed, full of incident, and especially interesting to those who remember Rome during the last years of Leo XII. and the pontificate of Pius VIII. Three letters a week reached her while his embassy lasted, and he has inserted several of them in his *Mémoires*, though not without dressing them up a little for posterity. Veneration and regard for her is their key-note. *Mille tendres hommages*, he writes. *Que je suis heureux de vous aimer!* But French politeness always sounds strange and fulsome when dissected in English. In May, 1829, he obtained leave to return to Paris for a time, and he was welcomed at the Abbaye by numerous admirers. There he read aloud his *Moïse*, in the presence of Cousin, Villemain, Lamartine, Mérimée, and a host of *littérati* besides. There he expressed all his fears for the ancient dynasty under the guidance of Prince Polignac. He had no personal feeling for the minister, save that of friendship. But he could discern the signs of the times. He sought an audience of the King, to warn him of the reefs on which he was being steered; but he was no favourite

with Charles X., and his request was refused. Yet he might, if his counsels had been listened to, have saved his master from exile and France from the revolution of July. The crown was in his idea above all things except the law. He would neither abandon the Charter for the King, nor the King for the Charter. The ordinances of July were subversive of the constitution, but the moment they were recalled he was on the monarch's side.

It was too late to stem the tide of insurrection. A ducal democrat was called to the throne. His partisans and those of the dethroned sovereign did not usually mix in society; but the *salon* in the Abbaye was an exception to every rule. There and at Dieppe, in the bathing season, the royalists, Genarde and Chateaubriand constantly met Ballanche, Ampère, Lacordaire, and Villemain, who welcomed the new *régime*. Madame Récamier, with admirable tact, kept them in social harmony, and her efforts in this direction were the more praiseworthy because she was not indifferent to their respective bias. She had always loved the old dynasty, both because of its hereditary rights and the glorious associations attached to it in history. She lamented the shortsightedness of the Polignac ministry; but she lamented still more the accession of Louis Philippe, which drove the greater part of her friends into the obscurity of private life.

In April, 1830, her husband died. He was then in his eightieth year, and during his last illness was removed to the Abbaye, that he might be surrounded by every sort of attention. In taste, character, and understanding he differed from Madame Récamier as widely as possible. They had but one quality in common: each was good and kind. Notwithstanding the singularity of their tie, they lived together thirty-five years without any disagreement. M. Bernard and his old friend Simonard were also gone. Madame Lenormant was married, and though the family circle that used to dine at the Abbaye was no more, some faithful friends, such as Ballanche and Paul David, met daily at the widow's hospitable board. The former of these was especially disappointed by the fall of the elder Bourbon branch. He had hoped to see its alliance with that moral, political, and social progress which was the dream of his existence. Elective monarchy now seemed to hold out better prospects of his *Palingénésie sociale*.

The attitude assumed by Chateaubriand at this period was such as to command general respect. He attempted, but in vain, to procure the recognition of Henry V., and to place his rights under the protection of the Duke of Orleans. Then, declining to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe, he

retired from the peerage, and gave up his pension. The friends, however, from whom he differed were delighted to perceive that his cordiality with them in private was in no degree lessened. But there was a circle within the circle that frequented the Abbaye, and it was in 1832 that the Duc de Noailles became enrolled among the select few. This was owing in part to the sympathy which existed between him and Chateaubriand, and the high estimate which the latter formed of his judgment. Neither was he so dazzled by the future of society as to forget or despise its past. Both found in the history of the Kings of France the sources of all subsequent improvement. The Duc de Noailles did not come alone to the Abbaye. His regard for Madame Récamier was such that he brought with him every member of his family whom he thought most worthy of her acquaintance, and invited her in turn and her friends to grace with their presence the fair domain of Maintenon. Here, surrounded by souvenirs of Louis XIV., Chateaubriand took notes for a chapter in his "Memoirs," which was not inserted, but given in manuscript to Madame Récamier. It fills seventeen pages, and forms one of the most striking parts of the volumes under review. The writer recalls the delicious gardens he has visited in Greece, Ithaca, Grenada, Rome, and the East, and compares them with the surroundings of the Château of Maintenon. He touches on many salient points in the history of that remarkable lady who bought it in 1675, and whose corpse had, in his own day, been dragged round the sacred enclosure of St. Cyr with a halter round the neck. He then passes to the night spent in the château by Charles X., when the King, driven from the seat of government, dismissed his Swiss Guards, and placed himself almost in the condition of a prisoner. It was in Madame Récamier's drawing-room that the autobiography, for which this description was intended, was first published, and that in the way so fashionable among the ancient Romans and still common in France,—by the author's reading it aloud to an assembly of friends. Thus Statius read his "Thebais,"* thus ~~A~~ Virgil his tragedies, at Rome. The readings of the "*Mémoires d'outre Tombe*" spread over two years, and his fame extended so fast that it was difficult to find room for those who craved admittance. Publishers, also, were eager to purchase the manuscript, to be printed at the writer's death; and some royalist friends availed themselves of this circumstance to obtain for him a pension for life. The excitement attending the recitals relieved his ennui, and literary labour helped to

* Juvenal, Sat. VII., 82—86.

pay his debts. The work itself, though intensely interesting to all who heard it and felt personally interested in the events it recorded, is too lengthy, detailed, peevish, and egotistic to add much to Chateaubriand's fame. Any theme he handled was sure to call forth eloquence and genius; but himself was the very worst subject he could choose,—the worst, not, perhaps, for the entertainment of his readers, but for the reputation of the writer.

In October, 1836, Louis Napoleon made his attempt at Strasburg, and having been arrested, was brought to Paris for trial. His mother, the ex-queen Hortense, fearing lest her presence there might only add to his danger, paused at Viry, and allowed her devoted follower, Madame Salvage, to proceed. This lady, relying on Madame Récamier's fidelity to her friends, repaired immediately to the Abbaye, and, with a portfolio of treasonable correspondence, sought an asylum there. On the morrow, Madame Récamier visited the Queen, or, to speak more correctly, the Duchess of St. Leu, at Viry, and found her in extreme distress. Her worst fears, indeed, were over. The Prince's life was spared, but, before his trial was concluded, he was shipped off to New York. The prospect of thus losing him afflicted the Duchess greatly, for she had a mortal malady, and knew that her time on earth could not be long. The next year, in fact, Louis Napoleon, informed of her dangerous illness, hastened to Europe to see her once more. In 1840 he again asserted, at Boulogne, his claim to the throne. He was tried by the Chamber of Peers, and Madame Récamier, though she had been obliged to appear and answer some questions before the *Juge d'Instruction*, was not deterred by this annoyance from asking permission to visit the prisoner. She saw him at the *Conciergerie*, not through attachment to his cause, but for his departed mother's sake. Two years after, when imprisoned in the fortress of Ham, he sent her his *Fragments Historiques*. In writing to her, he said:—"I have long wanted to thank you, madam, for the kind visit you paid me in the *Conciergerie*, and I am happy to have the opportunity now of expressing my gratitude. . . . You are so accustomed to delight those who approach you, that you will not be surprised at the pleasure I have felt in receiving a proof of your sympathy, and in learning that you feel for my misfortunes." Enclosed in this letter was another for Chateaubriand, much longer, and highly creditable to the Prince's talents and good taste. In it, he declared his intention of beguiling his prison hours by writing a history of Charlemagne as soon as he should have collected the necessary materials. The prominent place which that prince

held in his thoughts is strikingly brought before us in the preface to his "Julius Cæsar." In 1848, when fortune smiled, and he arrived in Paris already elected deputy, one of his first visits was to the Abbaye-au-Bois. It was just after the death of Chateaubriand, and Madame Récamier had not the pleasure of seeing him. In another year, she had entered into her rest, and he was far on the turbulent way to an imperial throne.

We must not forget to mention among her friends one with whom we may be excused for having more sympathy than with Napoleon III. This was Frederic Ozanam. He was born in 1813, and was still a student, and in his twentieth year, when first presented by Ampère to Madame Récamier. Chateaubriand was much struck by him, and he was present at several readings of the *Mémoires*. But he came to the Abbaye rarely, and when his friend Ampère asked him the reason, he replied:—"It is an assembly of persons too illustrious for my obscurity. In seven years, when I become professor, I will avail myself of the kindness shown me." With rare modesty, the young man kept his word. In seven years, and no less, he took his place in the renowned circle. His talents were already appreciated, and though timid and all but awkward, his conversation often broke through the restraints of habit, and swept along its shining course as if he were surrounded by his pupils in the lecture-room. Every year added to his celebrity. His character, his philosophy, his scholarship, were all Christian, and his professional life was devoted to one end. He vindicated the moral and literary attainments of the Middle Ages against modern detractors—against those who mean by the dark ages, the ages about which they are in the dark. He traced in all his works the history of letters in barbarous times, and showed how, through successive periods of decadence and renaissance, the Church has ever been carrying forward the civilization of mankind.* His publications have been edited by friends of whom he was worthy—Lacordaire and Ampère; and who would come to lay a votive wreath on Madame Récamier's tomb, without having one also for the grave of Ozanam?

The winter of 1840-41 was a disastrous one for Lyons and its neighbourhood. The swollen waters of the Rhone and Saone rising, overflowed their banks, and ravaged the surrounding country with resistless violence. The government was not slow to relieve the sufferers, and public as well as

* "La Civilisation au Ve Siècle," &c.

private charity poured in from every quarter. Madame Récamier felt deeply for her native city, and resolved on making an extraordinary effort to aid it in its distress. She organized a *soirée* to which persons were to be admitted by tickets. These were sold at twenty francs each, but were generally paid for at a higher rate. Lady Byron gave a hundred for hers. Rachel recited *Esther*; Garcia, Rubini, and Lablache sung; the Marquis de Vêrac placed his carriages at their disposal; and the Duc de Noailles supplied refreshments, footmen, and his *maître d'hôtel*. The Russians residing in Paris were especially active in disposing of tickets; Chateaubriand from eight o'clock to the end of the *soirée* did the honours of the saloon by which the company entered. Reschid-Pacha sat on the steps of the musician's platform, half buried beneath waves of silk and flowers. The rooms were adorned with exquisite objects of art, and 4,390 francs were received and transmitted to the Mayor of Lyons. Sixty poor families were selected by the curés to receive this bounty; Madame Récamier having requested that it might not be broken up into petty sums. In the midst of the glittering throng that assembled in the old Abbaye that evening, it is said that she eclipsed them all in beauty and grace. This may appear fabulous to many, for she was then in her sixty-third year; yet her niece would hardly assert it if it had not been the general opinion.

In 1842, Madame Récamier had the satisfaction of seeing Ballanche take his place in the French Academy. His friends, indeed, were more elated on the occasion than the philosopher himself. Literary honours were little in his eyes compared with the exertion of a moral and philosophic influence. His passion for machinery had nearly ruined him; and his generosity was always beyond his narrow means. Like Socrates in the basket, he lived above the earth, and the trivial concerns of daily life dried up the sap of his sublime speculations.* Chateaubriand used to call him the hierophant; for he had a small sect of followers whom he initiated in his mysticism.

A cloud was gathering over his existence, and over the gladness of all who frequented the Abbaye. Since the year 1839, Madame Récamier's health had been growing feebler, and a cataract was perceived slowly forming on her eyes. She bore the affliction with her usual calm, and the fear of becoming less able to amuse Chateaubriand was her chief distress. When her blindness became confirmed, her eyes were still brilliant; and her ear being fine, she knew all who approached

* Aristophanes. "The Clouds."

her by their voice. The valet took care to set everything in her apartment in its fixed place, so that she could move about without stumbling. In this way she often dissembled her loss of sight, and many who visited her came away with the impression that she saw pretty well. Long intercourse with Chateaubriand had made her habits as methodical as his. He still came to her daily at half-past two. They took tea together, and talked for an hour. Then the door opened to visitors, and the good Ballanche was always the first. This would have been mere dissipation, but for the more serious occupations of the morning. She rose early, had the papers read to her rapidly, then the choicest of new works, and afterwards some standard author. Modern literature had always been her delight; and it cheered her even in her darkness. When she drove out, it was generally with some charitable purpose; for the time was passed for paying other visits. Never, since Montmorency had recommended it, did she forget to read, or hear read, daily some work of piety; and as age advanced and sorrow weighed more heavily, she derived from the practice increasing solace and strength.

Now came what Ballanche called "the dispersion," from which afterwards he dated his letters. Prince Augustus of Prussia died in 1845, and charged Humboldt to execute his last commands with regard to her whom he had never ceased to respect and love. Her portrait, by Gerard, which she had given him, and her letters were returned when he could no longer treasure them. His death affected her deeply; for other flowers also were fading from life's garden, and the winter of age was freezing everything but her affections. From Maintenon she passed into Normandy, with her niece and Ampère, who had just returned from Egypt, weary and sick with travel. Wherever she went, the blind beauty of the First Empire wanted no one claim to respectful and devoted attention. By the use of belladonna, she sometimes dilated the pupil, and acquired for a few hours the sense of sight. In this way she saw and admired Ary Scheffer's beautiful picture of St. Augustine, which he brought from the Exhibition to the Abbaye-aux-Bois, on purpose that Chateaubriand and herself might inspect it. But such brief enjoyment only made returning darkness more gloomy; and an operation offered the best prospect of permanent relief. Meanwhile, Chateaubriand having broken his collar-bone in stepping from his carriage, a delay occurred. Madame Récamier would not deprive herself of the pleasure of diverting him during his confinement to the house. Her friends often assembled under his roof; and when he visited the Abbaye again, he was always

carried into the room by two domestics. Indeed, he never walked any more. Nor in her case did the operation for cataract succeed, for the patient did not enjoy that composure which was indispensable for a cure. Ballanche had been seized with pleurisy, and was dangerously ill. The blind lady to whom he had so long been devoted, breaking through all her surgeon's instructions, and braving the light she should have shunned, crossed the street which separated her from the dying man, and sat by his pillow to the last.

One who has often looked on death declares that she never saw it present so grand a spectacle as in Ballanche. All his philosophy was heightened into faith; all his poetry was wrapt into devotion. Serenely trusting in the Divine goodness, he realized intensely the mysteries of the unseen world; and with the holy viaticum on his lips, quitted his earthly tabernacle with joy, whilst she who watched at his side lost all hope of sight in her streaming tears. Ballanche's mortal remains lie in the vault of the Récamier family; and his life has been written by Ampère. He and Madame Récamier together selected the choicest passages from his works; and beneath the shade of beech-trees, amid the calm of nature, her niece's daughters read aloud to her Ballanche's long-treasured letters. She would scarcely have survived her grief had not Chateaubriand's infirmities still given a scope to her existence. Madame de Chateaubriand died in the winter of 1846-7. She abounded in charitable works, and the poor loved her name. The desolate widower proposed that Madame Récamier should take her place. He pressed his suit, but she persisted in her refusal. She thought the little variety caused by his daily visits to her essential for his comfort; and that if she were always with him he would be less consoled. "What end," she asked, "could marriage answer? At our age there is no service I may not reasonably render you. The world allows the purity of our attachment: let it remain unaltered. If we were younger, I would not hesitate a moment to become your wife, and so consecrate my life to you."

A second operation was performed, with no better result than before. The hope of being enabled to serve Chateaubriand more effectually alone induced her to submit to it. His end was fast approaching, and society itself seemed about to be dissolved. Without were contests; within were fears. The revolution of February, 1848, undid the revolution of July, 1830. The streets of the capital flowed with blood, and the roar of cannon in the insurrection of June shook the chamber of the expiring poet, and brought tears to his eyes. He heard with keen interest of the death of Monseigneur

Affre, the good shepherd who gave his life for his sheep. The intrepid courage of that glorious martyr lent fresh nerve to his jaded spirit; and though his brilliant intellect had for some time past lost its lustre, his thoughts were perfectly collected at the last. He was heard to mutter to himself the words he had written in 1814:—"No; I will never believe that I write on the tomb of France." The chill waters of the river of death could not extinguish the patriotism that burned in his breast. The Abbé Guerry, his confessor and friend, stood near him with the consolations of religion; his nephew, Louis de Chateaubriand, and the Superioress of the Convent of Marie-Thérèse, which he and his wife had founded. After receiving the blessed sacrament, he never spoke again; but his eyes followed Madame Récamier with an expression of anguish whenever she left his room. This was her crowning sorrow, that she could not see the sufferer she sought to relieve. When the worst was over, the calm of despair spread over her face, and a deathly paleness, which nothing could remove. She gratefully assented to everything which was proposed for her comfort; but her sad smile proved how vain was the effort to restore her to gladness. Those affectionate beings alone who live on friendship can comprehend the extent of her desolation.

Chateaubriand's obsequies were performed in the church of the *Missions étrangères*, where a large concourse assembled, notwithstanding the city and the state were still in the agony of a social crisis. But his ashes were transferred to his own Brittany, where a solitary rock in the bay had long before been granted him by the municipality of St. Malo, as a place of burial. More than 50,000 persons were present at this strange and solemn interment. They seemed to represent France mourning his loss. The sea was covered with boats; the roofs of the houses, and the shores beneath, were crowded with spectators; banners floated from rock and tower; while mournful canticles and booming cannon broke the stillness of the air. The coffin was laid in a recess of the steep cliff, and surmounted by a granite cross. Ampère was deputed by the French Academy to pronounce his eulogy on the occasion; and he concluded his report to that body in these words:—"It would seem that the genius of the incomparable painter had been stamped on this last magnificent spectacle; and that to him alone among men it had been given to add, even after death, a splendid page to the immortal poem of his life."

On Easter day in the following year, Madame Récamier was persuaded to remove from the Abbaye-aux-Bois to the National Library, where her niece and nephew resided. The

cholera had broken out in the neighbourhood of the Abbaye; and though she did not fear death, she had a peculiar horror of that dreadful pestilence. But her flight was vain; the scourge pursued her, and fell with sudden violence on her enfeebled frame. The day before, Ampère and Madame Salvage had dined with her, and on the morning of her seizure her niece's daughter Juliette had been reading to her the *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*. During twelve hours she suffered extreme torture, but spoke with her confessor, and received the sacrament of extreme unction. Continual vomiting prevented the administration of the Eucharist. Ampère, Paul David, the Abbé de Cazalès, her relations and servants, knelt around her bed to join in the prayers for the dying. Sobs and tears choked their voices, and "Adieu, adieu, we shall meet again; we shall see each other again," were the only words her agony allowed her to utter.

Madame Récamier breathed her last on the 11th of May, 1849. The terrible epidemic, which generally leaves hideous traces behind it, spared her lifeless frame, and left it like a beautiful piece of sculptured marble. Achille Devéria took a drawing of her as she lay in her cold sleep, and his faithful sketch expresses at the same time suffering and repose.

Such was the end of her who, without the prestige of authorship, was regarded by her contemporaries as one of the most remarkable women of her time. We will not indulge in any exaggerated statement of her piety. Great numbers, no doubt, have attained to more interior perfection. Her ambition to please was undoubtedly a weakness. Religion did not make her what she was; yet she would never have been what she was without it. It was the ballast which steadied her when carrying crowded sail. It was the polar star that directed her course amid conflicting currents and adverse storms. It raised her standard of morality above that of many of her associates. It taught her how to be devout without dissimulation, a patroness of letters without pedantry, a patriot and a royalist without national disdain or political animosity. It made her charitable to the poor, kind to the aged and sorrowful, gracious and unassuming with all, at the very time that the proudest of emperors invited her presence at his court, and his brother Lucien made her the idol of his verse. Its golden thread guided her aright through the intricate mazes of social life—through a matrimonial position equally strange and unreal—an engagement to a royal prince who was the foe of France—through friendships with Bernadotte and Murat on their thrones, with the Queens of Holland and of Naples when fallen, and with the third Napoleon when plotting

to regain the sceptre of the first. It so lifted her above intrigue and cabals that she could give her right hand to the disaffected General Moreau and her left to the devoted Junot—could be made the confidante of all parties without betraying the secrets of any. It inclined her to be chary of giving advice, but to make it, when asked for, tell always on the side of virtue. It enabled her to exhort the sceptical with effect, and dispose the philosophic to accept the faith.*

Her autobiography has unfortunately been destroyed by her own direction, because blindness would not allow her to revise it and cancel its defects. But many fragments of it have been preserved, and a thousand personal recollections, collected from those who knew her, have been wrought by her niece and other biographers into a lasting monument.

ART. V.—ROME, UNIONISM, AND INDIFFERENTISM.

L'Encyclique et les Evêques de France. Paris : Dentu.

A Letter on the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.

By Right Rev. BISHOP ULLATHORNE. London : Richardson.

Experiences of a 'Vert. Reprinted from the *Union Review* for the Editor. London : Hayes.

Christendom's Divisions. By EDMUND S. FFOULKES. London : Longman.

Theology of the Nineteenth Century (*Fraser's Magazine* for Feb., 1865). By the DEAN OF WESTMINSTER. London : Longman.

IN order that our readers may appreciate some of the works named at the head of our article, we must once more advert to a matter on which we have of late been laying considerable stress : we must speak once more on the fundamental erroneousness, the violently anti-Catholic character, of that opinion, which would limit the Church's and the Holy Father's infallibility to actual definitions of faith. In addition to various arguments which we have already urged on this matter, we would entreat our readers' attention to the following considerations :—

(1.) F. Perrone's lectures (whatever criticism may otherwise be made on them) have beyond question a greater value than any other work that can be named, in this respect ; viz., in showing what is the view of Catholic doctrine inculcated at this moment on theological students, by the great

* See her letters to Ampère in the *Correspondant*, 1864.

majority of bishops throughout the world. Now in his dissertation on the Church, he lays down a certain elementary doctrine on infallibility, as "held by Catholics and denied by all others." He does not speak of it as of one Catholic view among many, but as of the one Catholic doctrine; nor does he so much as hint that among Catholics any other can possibly exist. We cannot better express this doctrine than in his own words:—

While the Church fulfils the office of teaching, she performs a threefold duty; viz., that of witness, of judge, and of guide (*magistræ*). Of witness, in proposing those truths of the faith which she has received from Christ; of judge, in deciding controversies which either touch the faith or have reference thereto; lastly of guide, in that daily ministry whereby *through her oral and practical teaching* (*vivâ voce et praxi*) she instructs the faithful in all those matters which conduce to their being trained in pure doctrine and morality, and whereby she *leads them as it were by the hand along the path of eternal salvation*. Catholics contend, all non-Catholics deny, that *Christ has endowed His Church with infallibility for performing each of these duties*.—De Locis, n. 347, 8.

Now it is plain on the surface, that those who limit the Church's infallibility to her definitions of faith, admit indeed her infallibility as "testis;" and to some limited extent as "judex:" but that they deny infallibility to her altogether, in her capacity of "magistra." No such view, however, is so much as known to approved theologians. According to their unanimous teaching, the Church is infallible, not only in witnessing and in judging, but in practically guiding her children to salvation.

Now let our readers consider at their leisure—though indeed it requires very prolonged consideration to exhaust the subject—how much is implied in this pregnant statement, that the Church is infallible in her "juge magisterium." Take the obvious illustration of a parent; and suppose it were revealed to me that my mother's guidance is infallible in every particular of moral and religious training. That I should accept with unquestioning assent the very least detail of her explicit instruction, is but a small part of my submission to her authority. I should be ever studying her whole demeanour in my regard—her acts no less than her words—in order that I may more fully apprehend her implied principles of conduct, and gather those lessons of profound wisdom which she is privileged to dispense. Perhaps indeed at the present time no more important contribution could be made to scientific theology, than a full exposition of the Church's infallible "magisterium;" so that this great doctrine may be cleared

of possible misconception, and vindicated against plausible objection.

(2.) This infallibility of the Church's "magisterium" is also testified by the "sensus fidelium." He who holds that the Church is infallible only in her definitions of faith, studies divine truth by a method which we must maintain to be characteristically Protestant. He takes for his principles these definitions (as contained *e. g.* in Denzinger's small volume) and manipulates them according to his own private views of history and logic, with no further deference or submission to the living Church. Now such an extravagance as this is by absolute necessity confined to highly educated intellects: the ordinary believer has no more power of proceeding by such a method, than by the more openly Protestant maxim of private judgment on Scripture. A few unsound Catholics, we repeat, may be led astray by intellectual phantoms or blinded by intellectual pride; but the great mass have imbibed one and one only method of acquiring Catholic truth. The Church, as they have been taught, in her full practical exhibition, is their one infallible guide. They well know that, if they would learn their religion, they must open their heart unreservedly to the Church's full influence; study for their guidance those manuals and spiritual books which she places in their hand; listen with docility to the instruction of her ministers; practise those duties which she prescribes in the very form in which she prescribes them; labour in one word that that great body of truth may sink silently and deeply into their heart, which her whole system of practice and discipline inculcates and implies.* Now it is a principle of Catholicism that wherever the body of the faithful has unanimously imbibed one impression of fundamental doctrine, a strong presumption arises of such impression being the true one.† But even otherwise—is there any one who would openly say that there is a "royal road" to religious truth? that the highly cultivated intellect is to seek it by a method essentially different from that accessible to the ordinary believer? that far less deference is due to the Church's practical guidance from the former than from the latter? An

* "As the blood flows from the heart to the body through the veins; as the vital sap insinuates itself into the whole tree, into each bough, and leaf, and fibre; as water descends through a thousand channels from the mountain top to the plain; so is Christ's pure and life-giving doctrine diffused, flowing into the whole body through a thousand organs from the Ecclesia Docens."—Murray, de Ecclesiâ, disp. XI., n. 15.

† *E. g.*, "In questione fidei communis fidelis populi sensus haud levem facit fidem."—Charmes, quoted with assent by Perrone.

affirmative answer to this question is involved in the opinion which we are combating; but such an answer is so obviously and monstrously anti-Catholic, that no one will venture expressly to give it. The legitimate benefit to be derived from intellectual cultivation is not (we need hardly say) that men should be less loyal and submissive to the Church; but on the contrary that their docility to her, while remaining formally the same, may become materially far greater, from the far more extensive knowledge opened to them, of her true mind, of her implied teaching, of her multifarious traditions.

(3.) According to that ultramontane doctrine which (as we shall presently urge) is alone defensible, the Pope's infallibility is precisely co-extensive with that of the *Ecclesia Docens*. Now if it be granted that the Pope is infallible in his constant and abiding "*magisterium*," in all his implied and practical teaching,—much more must he be infallible in that large body of explicit instruction, which he is constantly putting forth for the guidance of all his spiritual children. We are here referring of course, not to definitions of faith alone, but to such Papal acts as are recounted, *e. g.*, in the recent Syllabus. Acts of this kind are put forth, as the Pope himself says, in virtue of his office as universal teacher, and they are published for the guidance of his flock; but they vary indefinitely in the forms which they assume: sometimes they are consistorial allocutions, sometimes encyclicals, sometimes letters addressed to this or that individual pastor. Being intended, however, as instructions to the whole Church, it is plain that they form a part of the Holy Father's "*juge magisterium*;" and those who admit him to be infallible in the whole of this latter office, must admit him to be infallible inclusively in such doctrinal declarations. On the other hand, and conversely, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that those who hold this latter infallibility, and act consistently with this belief, will be practically in the same position as if they held the former also. And at all events it is absolutely certain, as men of every party will admit, that all those who accept thoroughly either of the two above-named doctrines, will accept the other also: that all who regard the Pope as infallible in his various doctrinal declarations, will regard him as also infallible in his "*juge magisterium*;" and vice versâ. For all practical purposes, therefore, the question which we are now discussing is equivalent to that which we have been treating in our recent numbers, on the infallibility of those Papal declarations which are not definitions of faith.

The present, then, will be a very good opportunity for executing a purpose which we mentioned in April; viz., the placing before

our readers some sufficient sample of the extraordinary unanimity with which the French Episcopate has recognized the infallibility of the recent Encyclical with its appended Syllabus. No errors are therein formally condemned as heretical, and against several of them no one even alleges the charge of heresy. If, therefore, the Pope is infallible in condemning them, it can only be because he is infallible in all his doctrinal declarations addressed to the whole Church, and not merely in those which are definitions of faith. Yet we shall see that the French bishops not only recognize with one voice this infallibility,—but also regard such infallibility as an elementary and familiar portion of Christian doctrine, held as a matter of course by the whole body of believers. We quote from the work named first at the head of this article; and the peculiar importance of the point at issue will plead our excuse, if our quotations run to a considerable length.

The Bishop of Nantes :—

[The parish priests of my diocese] will not allow the faithful to forget (ignorer) *what the Catechism has taught them from their infancy*, that a doctrinal instruction emanating from the Supreme Pontiff *should be the rule of their belief* as of their moral conduct; and they will have recourse to this venerable monument [the Encyclical] *to resolve all the questions which shall be submitted to them on these subjects* (p. 107).

The Bishop of Arras :—

In the Bull “*Quantà Curâ*,” as in the Syllabus, everything is doctrinal and even dogmatic. . . . For us dogma . . . is the divine truth itself, *eternal, sovereign, unchangeable as God*; consequently to ask of the faithful to contradict it, and of pastors to conceal it, is to ask what is impossible, *because it would be the sacrifice of eternal salvation*. . . . You will say to me perhaps . . . that all the condemnations pronounced by these two last declarations of the Holy See *are not articles of faith*. As regards some of them, I admit that they are not, in such sense that those who should not admit them would not on that account be formally heretics; but not in such sense as that [Catholics] may reject them without becoming *greatly culpable under the head of faith*. . . . *All the bishops of France* at this day believe or profess that the Pope has received from God the special and supreme power of . . . feeding both shepherds and flocks with the bread of divine truth; because *to Peter alone and his successors it has been promised that they should never teach error* (p. 109).

The Archbishop of Sens :—

We adhere entirely, sincerely, simply, without distinction, without reserve, to all decrees teaching the Church's doctrine which have been put forth since the beginning of Pius IX.'s reign. We account it a duty in all the faithful entrusted to our charge to adhere thereto *in spirit and in heart*, and to make thereof the rule of their faith. From whence will come to us the light which

shall guide us in the midst of that thick darkness which encompasses us? It is from the height of Peter's chair that such light is given us to show us our path. Let us enter on that path . . . without fear of ever losing our way. Let us follow it with confidence; it will conduct us to salvation (p. 137).

The Archbishop of Bourges :—

Since the Church has received from our Lord the sacred deposit of doctrine, and the mission of communicating it to men with supreme and *infallible authority*, she has the right to count on her children's docile and respectful submission. Whether she exercises this power by means of general councils which the Sovereign Pontiff convokes . . . or by *dogmatic constitutions addressed from Rome to the bishops and faithful*, the obligation is always the same; for it is always the same authority which speaks—the authority of the Church; authority holy, sovereign, *infallible in doctrinal matters*, to which we all owe obedience, *unless we would renounce (à moins de renoncer) our title of Catholics*. . . . We adhere therefore fully and entirely to the *Encyclical of Dec. 8*; we reprobate and condemn all the errors which are there reprobated and condemned, in that sense and manner in which the Pope reprobates and condemns them. . . . We know but one sole judge in faith, but one sole doctrinal authority—the Church—the Church expressing herself by the mouth of our revered head. . . . Rome has spoken, the cause is decided (pp. 143, 146).

The Bishop of Puy :—

If the dogmatic and *infallible* teaching of Pius IX. contained in the *Encyclical* and *Syllabus* cannot . . . at this moment . . . be duly promulgated in ordinary form . . . it is not the less obligatory, the less sacred, for all; it does not the less bind every Christian conscience; we receive none the less, with a religious and entire submission of spirit and heart, all the oracles which it proclaims (p. 166).

The Bishop of Versailles :—

What must we see in the *Encyclical*? We must see in it condemnations pronounced at different epochs by an *infallible authority*; then, theories and principles laid down by the same authority as a basis for general instruction. How ought we to receive the *Encyclical*? We should receive it as a symbol, as a credo, with the most perfect submission (pp. 178, 179).

The Bishop of Soissons :—

The faithful of your parishes . . . know that every Catholic is obliged to adhere in conscience to the doctrinal decisions which [the *Encyclical*] contains (p. 218).

The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons :—

You have read this writing [the *Encyclical*] with that respect and veneration which we owe to the words of the Vicar of Jesus Christ: you have adhered from the bottom of your heart to that which he teaches us: you have condemned all which he condemns, and this *Encyclical* will have been for you . . . the oracle which must be listened to and believed (p. 244).

The Archbishop of Toulouse :—

The recent documents, emanating from the authority of the Holy Apostolic See . . . contain a *doctrinal instruction* ; and on matters of doctrine the Vicar of Jesus is *the first and only judge* (p. 10).

The Bishop of Nîmes :—

The doctrines proclaimed by Pius IX. in the Encyclical . . . have been already promulgated more than once ; the errors which he mentions have been previously condemned. Nay more, as to the eighty propositions contained in the Syllabus, the Holy Father expresses no [new] censure ; he does but refer to his previous allocutions, individual letters, or encyclicals. All those acts which he recounts have been in our hands for a greater or less period ; *the instructions which they contain under the form of dogmatic exposition or condemnation are accepted by the whole Church* ; they have the force of law within the Church (ils y font loi) ; and neither the circular of your Excellence nor the decisions of the State Council can *exempt Catholics from the obligation of submitting to them*. This is an *incontestable doctrine* even according to the ancient maxims of the Catholic Church (p. 17).

The Bishop of Limoges :—

The word of Christ *speaking through the Apostolic mouth* is always faithful and worthy of all acception, to which word *belief is given in the heart* to justification, and confession with the mouth to salvation. The *unfailing oracle of truth* was to me a matter of greater consolation . . . Therefore as to all the propositions censured in the aforesaid Syllabus and Encyclical, and other Apostolic letters, I profess that all without exception are to be *rejected and condemned* in the sense and mode which the Apostolic See intends. Likewise of all the documents of the Encyclical, as far as rests with me one iota or one point shall not pass away, but that it shall be taught and *believed* in my whole diocese (p. 19).

The Bishop of Poitiers :—

We declare that we adhere fully in spirit and in heart to all the doctrinal judgments and affirmations, to all the *rules of belief and conduct*, enunciated by our Holy Father Pius IX., *from the beginning of his Pontificate to the present day* ; and we pronounce that it is *the duty of all orthodox Christians* to submit themselves to the said instructions with an humble and filial docility of their *understanding and will* (p. 31).

The Bishop of Beauvais :—

If you ask of us what line you should yourselves follow (*vous devez suivre vous-mêmes*), our answer will be easy. . . . In regard to doctrine, *full and perfect adhesion* of spirit and of heart to the instructions, decisions, condemnations, which emanate from the holy Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches (p. 38).

The Bishop of Fréjus :—

The Encyclical, which does but renew the condemnation of propositions

already condemned with the unanimous consent of the Episcopate, becomes a *rule of faith which every Catholic is bound to accept* (pp. 55-6).

The Bishop of Saint Dié :—

[The Encyclical contains] the instructions of him "*whose faith cannot fail,*" and who has been appointed to "confirm his brethren." . . . At the same time and to satisfy our *duty* as son and bishop of the holy Catholic Church Apostolic and Roman, surrounded in spirit by our well-beloved clergy who, especially at this moment, make but one heart and one voice with their bishop, we condemn all which is condemned in the Encyclical of Dec. 8, 1864; we reprobate all which it reprobates, and in the sense in which it reprobates and condemns (p. 70).

The Bishop of Algiers :—

In the presence of a *dogmatic and moral bull ex cathedra*, emanating from him who has received of Jesus Christ the *full and entire mission of teaching the Universal Church*, the bishops could not in any manner believe themselves dispensed from the *docility of mind and heart which they owe to it* (p. 75).

The Bishop of Bayeux :—

The sentiments of profound veneration and *perfect obedience* wherewith you are animated in regard to the Sovereign Pontiff, impose on us the duty of letting you know *with what submission of spirit and heart* we have received the sacred words of the Vicar of Jesus Christ (p. 79).

The Bishop of Langres :—

Now it is in spirit and in heart, . . . *with our whole soul and without reserve*, that we adhere, *we and all of you with us*, to the great and salutary instructions of the Encyclical; and that we reprobate and condemn everything which the Pope reprobates and condemns, and in the same sense in which he condemns it (p. 115).

The Bishop of Gap :—

This word of the Supreme Pontiff, of him who is "*teacher of all Christians*" (Conc. Flor.) . . . has reached you by all the organs of the press. After the example of your first pastor, you will receive it with all the respect due to it; *with the most entire submission of mind and heart. This is an imperative and sacred duty for you and for all true Catholics* (pp. 121-2).

The Bishop of Quimper :—

[The Supreme Pontiff] is appointed by God *to direct* [men's] conscience. . . Far from us the thought as regards this solemn document of either adding aught to it or taking aught from it; *we adhere to it fully and without reserve* (p. 158).

The Bishop of Chartres :—

When the Church speaks, all should hear her, *if they wish still to claim the name of Catholics*. . . We declare that the Sovereign Pontiff's letter, dated Dec. 8, prescribing the jubilee, as well as the catalogue of condemned

errors annexed to it, should be the rule which shall direct our minds and conduct under present circumstances (p. 168).

The Bishop of Périgueux :—

We adhere emphatically (*hautement*), in your name as well as in our own, with submission and love to all the instructions given to the Church and the world by our Holy Father Pope Pius IX., during the whole course of his Pontificate, and particularly on that ever memorable day, Dec. 8, 1864. *We approve, affirm, and believe all which he approves, affirms, and believes; and all which he rejects, reprobates, and condemns, we reject, reprobate, and condemn.* Such is our faith, such is yours; and with God's help it shall ever be the same as the faith of Peter's legitimate successors (p. 187-8).

The Cardinal Archbishop of Chambéry :—

For many years past the venerable head of the Church has condemned some of these most dangerous errors; these condemnations have been successively published without exciting any protest. They have been recapitulated and put together in a Bull, published Dec. 8 last . . . and addressed to all the bishops of the Catholic world *that it may serve as a rule of belief to the faithful.* . . . It is absolutely necessary that the head of the Church may make his voice heard by his children, that he may teach them *what they must believe and practise to be saved* (p. 191, 2).

The Bishop of Angoulême :—

The Bull Unigenitus subsists and will always subsist, venerated in the entire world as a *rule of faith*, from which no one could deviate without ceasing to be a Catholic. *It will be the same with the new Bull* (p. 201).

We have prolonged these extracts at the risk of wearying our readers, because no general account of them would suffice for the impression which we wish to convey. Some Catholics seem to think, that even if that doctrine be true which we have maintained on the infallibility of such papal pronouncements, at least the question is an open one, and one on which good Catholics may freely take either side. But the French bishops speak of our doctrine as quite rudimental; as familiar to all Catholics; as contained in the very Catechism.*

* It is interesting to English Catholics, that their own bishops use the same explicit and unmistakable language. What can be more express than this from the Bishop of Shrewsbury?—"We cannot indeed but think that we are calling such men [those who "have presumed to question not only the expediency but the soundness" of the Encyclical and Syllabus] by a wrong title when we give them the name of Catholic. For does not that name imply in its essential meaning that we submit ourselves, *our views, our judgment* in all matters of faith or morals to the voice and decisions of the Church? . . . Nor let them pretend with that false refinement which the spirit of insubordination suggests to draw too nice distinctions. . . . *The word that has gone forth is not the word of man but of the Pontiff; and in that word we revere the teaching of Him by whose power it has been uttered.*"—Pastoral of April

Another inference is at once deducible from the passages which we have quoted. Benedict XIV., in his well-known letter to the supreme inquisitor of Spain, says that the Pope's infallibility, in his teaching *ex cathedrâ*, is received everywhere except in France.* Now the extracts just given show most clearly that this exception no longer exists. The Bishop of Arras's testimony, *e.g.*, is express on this head, and no one has attempted to contradict it:—"All the bishops of France at this day," he says, "believe or profess that to Peter alone and his successors it has been promised that they should never teach error." The Catholic Episcopate then is now unanimous in this particular, and Gallicanism under present circumstances slays itself. If we start from the Gallican premiss, that the bishops are infallible when united with their head;—we are led to the ultramontane conclusion, that their head is also infallible when speaking alone. Never had ultramontanes so much right to say (and we do most confidently say it) that theirs is the only doctrine consistently tenable by a Catholic.

(4.) The French bishops teach, then, that the Holy Father is infallible in all his doctrinal declarations, and not exclusively in his definitions of faith. That which they say on occasion of the Encyclical, he had already said in the Encyclical itself. We showed this in our last number (pp. 445—447). He teaches therein that the Pope is in the habit of putting forth certain "judgments" which "do not touch the dogmata of faith and morals," and which assuredly, therefore, are not definitions of faith. He teaches, further, that the Pope is infallible in these judgments; and that interior assent cannot be refused to them "without sin," and without a certain "sacrifice of the Catholic profession." Every one at all acquainted with theological language will admit that "sin" here means

25th. The *Church Review* of April 29, in noticing our own statements to this effect in our last number, says, "We do not so wrong the majority of our educated brethren of the Roman persuasion, as to suppose that the above *farrago of nonsense* in the least represents what they believe on the subject." The writer shows by his tone that he wishes to use conciliatory language towards the general body of English Catholics; and he thinks he shall best accomplish that purpose, by calling the judgment of their bishops a "*farrago of nonsense*." Let him name, if he can, one single Catholic bishop throughout the world, who has either stated or implied that the doctrinal decisions of the Encyclical and Syllabus are fallible.

* Totum [Bossueti] opus versatur in asserendis propositionibus à Clero Gallicano firmatis in conventu anno 1682. Difficile profectò est aliud opus reperire, quod æquè adversetur doctrinæ extra Galliam ubique receptæ de Summi Pontificis ex cathedrâ definitis infallibilitate; de ejus excellentiâ supra quodcunque concilium œcumenicum; de ejus jure indirecto, si potissimum religionis et Ecclesiæ commodum id exigat, super juribus temporalibus principum supremorum.

"mortal sin;" but all possible doubt on the subject must be removed, by the "sacred invitation" which the Cardinal Vicar of Rome issued under the Pope's own eyes, as a pastoral instruction to the Pope's own diocese. For Cardinal Patrizi says expressly that the Encyclical and Syllabus are to be received "as the very word of God;" and that he who "listens not" to the Pope so speaking has "no longer a right to the eternal inheritance of heaven" (see p. 449, note).

From these various considerations then (to which very many others might easily be added), we unhesitatingly draw our conclusion. No doctrine which is not explicitly *de fide* is more irrefragably certain, than that the Pope's infallibility is not confined to his definitions of faith, but that it extends over his whole practical "magisterium;" and inclusively, therefore, to all those declarations which he authoritatively puts forth for the instruction of the universal Church.

As we are presently to speak of the Unionists, it will be desirable, before quitting this part of our subject, to consider an allegation which is frequently in their mouth. They love to speak of the great evils which have accrued to the Church, from the separation of England, *e. g.*, and to so large an extent of Germany, from the Roman See. Now as to the great majority of Unionists—those who are non-Catholic—they may most consistently say this: for they believe that the Church has been actually divided. If the Church could be divided at all, it would be impossible (no doubt) to exaggerate the calamitousness of such an event. But the question which we wish to consider concerns Catholics. How far and in what sense can Catholics truly say that the Church has suffered injury, through the lamentable defection which has taken place from her body?

Firstly, of course, the loss of so many souls, which might have been saved within visible unity, but which will not in fact be saved externally to that unity, is a grievous injury to the Church's interests: for her highest interest is the salvation of souls.

Then, further, an active intellectual process has been exercised within the Church from the first, on the deposit of faith. Great thinkers have busied themselves in every age, whether with analyzing some individual doctrine; or harmonizing various doctrines in their mutual relation; or carrying them forward to their legitimate conclusions, theological and philosophical; or penetrating the depths of Scripture; or exploring the treasures of tradition. All this has been done under the vigilant supervision of the Holy See; which has carefully guarded the purity of this doctrinal development, and provided

against the danger of unsound opinions taking root within the Church. Now the intellectual labour of which we have spoken has conferred inestimable services; and at no period has it been more needed than in the three last centuries. It has no doubt, therefore, inflicted very serious injury on the Church, that men of genius and learning, who (had they been Catholics) might have taken a prominent part in the work, have wasted or worse than wasted their power, by devoting it to the service of a false religion. Germans, *e. g.* (whatever their intellectual faults) are perhaps exceeded by none in critical acumen, and again in philosophical profundity. The Church then has sustained a severe detriment, from so many Germans being Protestants; in that she has lost the benefit of such important services as they might have rendered her.

The Church then, we say, has been negatively a great sufferer by the Protestant apostasy; but no good Catholic can admit that she has positively suffered thereby. It is necessary to insist on this, because we are inclined to fear that, through confusion of thought, much unsound speculation has found access to the mind of certain Catholics. It has been implied in fact—unless we misunderstand the meaning of various expressions which have been used—that she has actually suffered in the purity of her teaching, through the defection of Protestant England and Germany; that Rome's authoritative lessons (apart of course from definitions of faith) are less simply orthodox in tendency, than they would have been had all Europe remained Catholic. Such a notion simply inverts the Church's whole constitution. God teaches the Holy See, and the Holy See teaches the Church; it is Peter whose faith fails not, and who in his turn confirms his brethren: whereas, according to the above notion, he would not be simply the Church's teacher, but in part her disciple. Rome, let it never be forgotten, is commissioned to teach England and Germany, not England or Germany to teach Rome. So far as any Englishmen or Germans are at variance with what is authoritatively inculcated in Rome, they are infallibly in error. Rome no doubt may often wish to correct her impressions of *fact* by special communication, *e. g.*, with England; but she cannot, without abandoning her essential claims, seek correction from any source on matters of doctrine or of principle.*

* "This Roman chair of the most blessed Peter, which, being the mother and guide (*magistra*) of all Churches, has always preserved *whole and inviolate* the faith delivered by Christ the Lord, and faithfully taught it, showing to all men the path of salvation and the doctrine of uncorrupted truth . . . Where Peter is, there is the Church; and Peter, through the Roman pontiff,

Now as to the anonymous pamphlet named at the head of our article, it is little to say that its writer is removed in the farthest possible degree from accepting such principles as we have been laying down: he does not seem ever to have heard of their existence. He professes Catholicism, indeed; or, in other words, he professes that the Catholic Church was ordained by God to teach him true religion: and one would have thought it therefore a matter of the simplest common sense, that he should place himself at her feet in the position of a humble disciple: yet his tone implies throughout, not only that he has nothing to learn from her, but that she has everything to learn from him. He begins by saying (p. 3) that she would seem to have "duped" him "upon a point affecting his highest interests."* Presently he adds (p. 9) that he would not have been educated a Catholic "for the world."† He cannot accept the Church's doctrine, that Anglicans are schismatics and treated by God as such (p. 10). Indeed, he considers his "own happy country at the head of the whole civilized world in all that can make a nation great, prosperous, and intelligent" (p. 11); so that the Catholic faith has no tendency, in his view, to make a nation great, prosperous, and intelligent. Nor is this wonderful; for a "well-educated, well brought-up" Protestant "Englishman" "would undoubtedly see many things" in Catholic churches abroad "*that he would bless God his own Church had either never known or had discarded*" (p. 12). Then the author holds, that the English bishops and the Congregation of Propaganda have committed a simple impertinence, in presuming to interfere on the question of Catholics going to Oxford or Cambridge. "It is purely a question that concerns our laity; above all, our gentry"

furnishes truth of doctrine (præstat fidei veritatem) to them that seek it."—(Encyclical "*Qui Pluribus*,") "In which [Roman Church] always remains the infallible *magisterium* of the faith, and in which, therefore, apostolic tradition has been ever preserved."—(Encyclical "*Nostis et nobiscum*,") "In which [Roman Church] alone religion has been inviolably preserved, and from which all other Churches must borrow the tradition of faith."—(Bull "*Ineffabilis*,")

* "It will seem to have been my fate to have been twice duped in the course of my life upon a point affecting my highest interests. I do not say so myself—God forbid—but there is something in it that is beyond me to explain to my own satisfaction. . . . The Church of Rome . . . professed to receive me into the Holy Catholic Church, but on my reception it was to the Roman Catholic Church that I was made to promise obedience."

† "I would not part with my Anglican education, or with my knowledge of the Bible in particular, for the world." The author's egotism may perhaps excuse the egotism of another. The present writer is also a convert. His testimony is, that his Protestant education—emphatically and specially his public school education—has been the one crushing calamity of his life.

(p. 19). "Our laity," in fact, "are becoming too numerous and too highly educated to be kept any longer in leading-strings, or tied to the aprons of their spiritual guides" (p. 20)* "Let not our laity," then, "any longer hesitate to *insist* upon having a class of schools and a system of education pursued in them, in which the ecclesiastical element shall be neither predominant nor, except for teaching theology and performing divine service, indispensable" (p. 21).† At all events he, for his part, will set a spirit-stirring example to his brethren of independence and rebellion. Whatever heresies and errors are contained in the Protestant version of Scripture, still it is expressed in good English. "*I will never part with my Anglican Bible for any other in the same language, till I can be supplied with one at least as good in this respect*" (p. 22). The principle, he seems to say, put forth by Catholic bishops, is truly monstrous; viz., that pure doctrine is more important than good English: and if they have nothing better than this to allege, I totally deny that God has given them any authority to control me in the matter. I am a free-born Englishman; and I will stick to that English Bible, which *is* English.

We cannot be surprised at such a Catholic thinking (p. 29) that "our own bishops" will never, as now trained, "attain to that manly, vigorous, and decisive type of character which is the only one likely to command respect ever with *Englishmen*." His national vanity, by the way, is really ludicrous: he speaks as though an unmanly, feeble, and indecisive type of character might be influential enough among French or Italians; among cardinals or monsignori; but that it is the high prerogative of Englishmen to estimate such a character at its true value. Never then, in his opinion,

* Through that confusion of thought which so remarkably characterizes this pamphlet throughout, it is somewhat difficult at first sight to ascertain the author's precise meaning here: for in one sentence he speaks as though it were only on matters purely literary, that he complains of the clergy exercising "surveillance" (as he calls it) over Catholic publications. But he cannot really mean this: he cannot imply that Catholic bishops and clergy, as such, claim any kind of authority on such a question, as the relative poetical excellence of Wordsworth and Tennyson, or the merit of Mr. Carlyle's style. He refers then certainly to matters which, indirectly at least, bear on faith and morals; and he must be understood to advocate the detestable tenet, that on such matters the *Ecclesia Docens* has no legitimate authority over her children.

† "That method of instructing youths can be approved by Catholic men which is disjoined from the Catholic faith and the Church's power, and which regards exclusively, or at least principally, knowledge of the natural order alone and the ends of social life on earth."—(Prop. xlviii. condemned in the Syllabus.)

will Catholic bishops rise above that degrading and un-English standard which does well enough for foreigners, "if they are so thoroughly bound hand and foot to the judgment of a foreign court—never too popular in this country from the time of the Conquest downwards—that they can never venture to speak and act for themselves like men" (p. 29). To revolt, then, against the authority set over them by God, is "to speak and act for themselves like men." The successors of St. Peter, to whose services exclusively England owes so much of the Gospel as she still retains, constitute "a foreign court." And the ingratitude with which Englishmen have repaid the inestimable benefit conferred on them by Rome, is cited,—not as a fact truly disgraceful to their character;—but, on the contrary, as a reason why even Catholic bishops should join their heretical compatriots, in slighting the Vicar and one earthly representative of Him who died to save them.

Such is the author's attitude of mind towards his spiritual pastors; and his general opinions are such as might have been expected from the fact. Thus (p. 7) he is convinced by his own past internal feelings—by "the glow of pure happiness" which "passed over him" when he was ordained by the Bishop of Oxford—that Anglican ordinations are valid: and this, "though for one that upholds there may be ten that sneer at Anglican orders in the Church of Rome;" and thousands, at all events, that totally deny the validity of those orders. "In deference to ecclesiastical authorities," he would "submit" (!) "to further ordination," but their judgment would in no respect alter his private opinion.

We have referred already to that confusion of thought which so singularly characterizes the whole pamphlet: out of so many instances we will select two. In page 9 these statements occur in close proximity—"I have been as great and constant a sinner since my reception into the Church of Rome, as I ever was in the Church of England;" "the practice of confession, obligatory as it is with us, has greatly tended to purify and to brace my conscience." It is for him to explain, how his conscience has been greatly purified and braced, while, nevertheless, he remains (we sincerely hope he is mistaken here) as great and as constant a sinner as before. Then, secondly, in various passages he implies that those are gravely culpable who remain in "*what they suspect . . . to be schism or heresy*" (p. 10). "I have no business to stay in what I even *imagine* to be wrong" (p. 10). I would not pass judgment on those "who have never had one *misgiving*" on their Church's position (p. 13). But only turn over the page, you find a very different

and most startling view. "Let no one venture to quit the Christian calling in which he has been placed *without a direct summons* from Him who placed him in it . . . it will come" (if it comes at all, for "in innumerable instances" it does not come at all) "in a way and with a force that *he cannot mistake*. . . . Let him reject it at his peril: *let him anticipate it at his peril likewise*" (p. 14). This extraordinary doctrine is altogether inconsistent with the former: for could it be maintained, it would follow that you are bound "at your peril" to remain a Protestant—however serious your "suspicions" and "misgivings"—until a direct summons come to you which you cannot mistake.

The author's ignorance of Catholic dogma is truly remarkable in one who comes forward as a teacher and a reformer. We have already seen, that not merely he does not himself admit the "*Ecclesiæ iuge magisterium*," he seems never to have heard of it. We should have very much to say again concerning his doctrine, just cited, on the unmistakable "summons," and the inculpability of schismatics who have not received that summons; but that it is impossible to treat adequately this extraordinary and heretical delusion, without writing at far greater length than our limits will permit. Then in page 12 he maintains (as we understand him) that the dictum, "*nulla extra ecclesiam salus*," is no longer true, since the "separation" of "East and West:" a tenet which is beyond all possible question heretical.* Further (pp. 8, 9), he implies that baptism may be valid, though there be no "proper intentions on the part of the officiator."† Lastly, his language here and there makes it almost impossible to doubt—what, nevertheless, it is almost impossible to believe—that he is totally ignorant of one among the most elementary truths of Catholicism: the distinction between actual and habitual grace; between the "*auxilia gratiæ*" on the one hand, and "*gratia habitualis, semen gloriæ*," on the other. We must enlarge a little on this strange confusion, to explain our meaning. Thus he says (p. 30)—

"There is a 'pendant' to the dogma, '*nulla extra ecclesiam salus*,' which *Roman Catholics are far too apt to slur over*; and it is this. In the celebrated Bull of Clement XI. (*Unigenitus*), one of the propositions condemned as heretical‡ by that Pope . . . is '*extra ecclesiam non conceditur gratia*.'"

* See, e. g., Denzinger's various references.

† We are very unwilling to press the author too hard; and we must ever remember his great mistiness of thought and expression. Perhaps at last he only means here, that the minister need not believe in baptismal regeneration, in order to validity of the sacrament.

‡ The author never can contrive to be accurate, even by accident. No

What Catholic on earth can have the slightest temptation to "slur over" this censure? Why no one could accept the condemned thesis, without falling into the most patent heresy: for he must hold either that heretics and schismatics can be converted without grace, or that they cannot be converted at all. But the author seems to regard the Pope as here deciding, that those external to the visible Church may possess *habitual* grace, and so be under God's favour and acceptance. Now, in what sense this doctrine may be *true*, we are not here considering: * but the merest tyro must know that the censure before us does not bear on it ever so remotely; that the censure would be equally deserved, even if it were a revealed verity that no single individual can be in God's favour who is external to the Church's visible communion. So in page 8, "We may think it ever so fitting"—he means "extreme and bigoted Catholics may think it ever so fitting"—"that the members of a Church that can be proved to be in schism, should be *denuded of all grace*." What Catholic ever dreamed of so preposterous a notion, as that the members of a schismatical society are "denuded" of the *auxilia gratiæ*? On such an hypothesis not one of them could possibly submit to the Church. A few lines later he implies that the not being "*denuded of all grace*," necessarily involves the possessing *habitual* grace. Whereas, had he any acquaintance with the distinction between these two kinds of grace, he must see, of course, that no state is more easily imaginable (as, indeed, none unhappily is more common) than the being "*denuded*" of habitual grace, while visited by actual: the being under God's wrath and displeasure; while He solicits the soul, by the *auxilia gratiæ*, to return into His favour and into the possession of *gratia habitualis*.

As to the main drift of his pamphlet, it would appear that there are two propositions which the author is mainly desirous of upholding: the one, subjective; the other, objective. He wishes (1) to impress on the Catholic world, as a matter of his own personal experience, that Catholicism at last is not so very superior to Anglicanism; and he wishes (2) to impress on the English Catholic bishops, as a matter of doctrine, that their constant reference and unremitting subordination to Rome are un-Catholic. Now, as to the first of these propositions, what can his experience possibly be worth? No one can have had

propositions are separately condemned in the Bull as *heretical*; but the propositions are condemned *in globo* as heretical, erroneous, scandalous, &c., &c., respectively.

* See on this head, our last number, pp. 459-461.

experience of a religion, who has not practised it; and how can it possibly be said that this writer has practised Catholicism? To do so, is to sit at the Church's feet as a disciple; to accept humbly her practical lessons concerning faith and the spiritual life; to act diligently on the knowledge thus acquired. No one, holding our author's opinions, can have any more conception of what Catholicism really is, than a man born blind can have a true idea of colour. When such a person gravely speaks of instructing the world by his "experiences;" and when he calls on us to believe on his word that Catholicism is not that noble and divine thing which we know it to be;—he does but remind us of the well-known worthy, who announced to a large circle of eminent mathematicians, that he for his part once went through two pages of the "*Principia*," and found Newton to be at last a very ordinary and common-place mortal.

As to the author's second proposition, it indicates quite amusingly his characteristic ignorance and mistiness, that he simply begs the entire question at issue. The Holy Father and his chosen counsellors are "ecclesiastics," it seems, "whose vision is bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south, east, and west by the tideless Mediterranean" (p. 29). Certainly, if the Holy Father's vision is thus bounded; if he has not some very special insight into matters which stretch, not merely beyond Alps and Mediterranean, but altogether beyond this earth; if he be not gifted immediately by God with infallible judgment in teaching the Church on matters of doctrine and principle; if he have not received the commission of imparting to other bishops and Churches that light which he divinely receives;—then (no doubt) the English bishops pursue an imbecile course, in their eager longing for his instruction, and their earnest deference to his judgment. But on the other hand, if the above-named doctrines are true and not false,—in that case it is no less unquestionable that the English bishops act in the only way consistent with straightforwardness and common sense. The whole question, beyond all possible doubt, turns solely and absolutely on this doctrinal controversy, concerning the nature and extent of Papal infallibility. Will it be credited, that the pretentious writer before us not merely makes no attempt to argue this controversy, but does not ever so distantly allude to its very existence?

It will be seen, by a correspondence printed at the end of this pamphlet, that Mr. Ffoulkes was very generally supposed to be its author; and that he has declined either to confirm or repudiate the supposition. He has now published a volume in

his own name, from which we made a few extracts in our last number. These extracts we here repeat :—

"The whole Church," at a certain period of her history, "*delegated to*" the Pope "the same executive powers over Christendom generally, that had been *already* delegated to metropolitans over provincial, and to patriarchs over diocesan churches" (p. 19).

"There were *some specious grounds*, at all events, for deciding as she did" (p. 12).

"The" Church's "*second stage towards monarchy* had been actually attained before the conversion of Constantine" (p. 16).

"The headship of emperors is a thing that has been tried and laid aside : *what therefore remains*, but that of the Pope?" (p. 35, note).

"Had Christianity never encountered a world-wide empire at its birth . . . it is quite possible that the idea of a supreme earthly head of the Church would have never occurred at all to its professing members" (p. 37).

"I sincerely believe myself that a Church . . . *without any supreme head* . . . but One who is there worshipped in faith as ever present, is the loftiest and most Evangelical idea of a Church by far; and that, to a certain extent, this was actually exhibited in . . . the three first centuries" (p. 35).

"If His Church was to have a supreme head at all upon earth," Christ "vested that dignity in S. Peter and his successors" (p. 37).

"The principle of a *supreme earthly potentate*" was not "*conceded without reproof* . . . 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence to me; for thou savourest not the things of God, but those that be of men,' said our Lord to that very S. Peter whom He had just before designated as the rock on which He would build his Church; *neither can one passage be applied to his successors without the other*" (p. 36).

"Through the instrumentality of" S. "Peter's successors, *one part of His Church*" was "*bound together in a compact mass*" (p. 37).

"The Church of England . . . and the bodies that spring from it . . . are . . . destined, perhaps, to play an important part in any future schemes for *re-union of the whole Church*" (p. 34).

"Where" Popes and Cardinals "*have discharged*" their appointed "task faithfully and efficiently, there is no *class of men* entitled to more respect and honour at our hands. . . . Where they have not discharged that task, or made it subservient to their own interest or aggrandisement, *there can be no greater enemies of the whole human race*. . . . It would be unjust and contrary to fact to insinuate that *nothing else but* their rivalries and backslidings . . . have caused our divisions" (preface, pp. xiii, xiv).

The last of these passages we cited for the purpose of showing the intolerable disrespectfulness with which Mr. Ffoulkes permits himself to speak on the Vicar of Christ. On looking, however, at the passage again, we find it may possibly be so interpreted, as to include within the criticised "*class of men*," not "*Popes and cardinals*" alone, but "*bishops and archbishops*." This is not indeed its more

obvious interpretation; but as we have now reason to believe that the author intended it, and as the passage is certainly far less offensive if so explained, we have pleasure in withdrawing this particular count from our indictment. The remaining extracts, however, oblige us to bring against him no less severe a charge than that of actual heresy. That the Pope's authority over the whole Church was conferred on him immediately by God, is no less essential a portion of the Faith than is the Trinity or the Incarnation. If it be worth while on so plain a matter to adduce any ecclesiastical definition, we will refer to the well-known "*Auctorem Fidei*," of which there has never been any doubt that it was accepted by the Catholic Episcopate. "That proposition," says the Bull, "thus explained, viz., that the Roman Pontiff receives, not from Christ in the person of Blessed Peter, but *from the Church*, the power of ministry whereby he rules in the Universal Church as successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, and head of the whole Church [so explained this proposition is] *heretical*" (Denz. n. 1366). Now this proposition so explained is precisely Mr. Ffoulkes's, and we are compelled to say in consequence that he has committed himself to actual heresy.

Mr. Ffoulkes, indeed, protests against this conclusion and has written a reply in his own vindication. We are most happy to insert it; and we entreat our readers, in justice to the accused, to give it their most careful attention. We have neither put any words into italics, nor in any other way touched what Mr. Ffoulkes has written.

DEAR SIR,—Some extracts from my book, as given in the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, seem calculated to produce very erroneous apprehensions both of its meaning and of my own principles in general. Allow me therefore to state explicitly, that I hold the Papacy to be of Divine institution, and interpret our Lord's words to S. Peter, "I say unto thee that thou art Peter," &c., literally and unequivocally, as conferring upon him and his successors those prerogatives which are implied in it. And it is in no spirit of disloyalty to that belief that, as a student of ecclesiastical history, I have endeavoured to arrive at a true solution of some difficulties which present themselves as facts that cannot be set aside, and in my humble opinion have not as yet been interpreted consistently with that belief. One of these is that for the first three centuries or more the power of the Popes remained in suspense, and exercised no active influence over the Church. It is but vaguely hinted at in the countless canons that were passed by successive councils respecting Church government. My explanation of that phenomenon is derived from the analogy which the historical books of the Old Testament supply. God foresaw that the Israelites would desire a visible king. He therefore foreordained and foretold Judah as the patriarch from whose descendants that king was to be taken when the time came. Christ in like

manner foresaw that His Church would desire a visible earthly head. He therefore foreordained and foretold S. Peter as the apostle from whose successors that visible Head was to be supplied. Thus both the kingdom under the law, and the Papacy under the gospel, were divine institutions, and neither of them the work of man ; though men may be said to have asked for them in either case. This, in the case of the Jews, is stated in so many words to have taken place. Samuel carried their request before the Lord. But if we turn to Church history, the creation of metropolitans, primates, and patriarchs by express canons of general councils in the first three or four centuries may be taken to be as explicit a declaration on the part of the Church in favour of a supreme earthly Head, to which post the successors of S. Peter had been already foreordained by Christ himself. In this way, too, is met the objection so frequently urged against the Papacy by its opponents, namely, that it was founded in a series of violent and overbearing acts against the liberties of every local church ; whereas my explanation shows that it had been accepted in principle by the actual course of Church legislation from the first, so that the whole Church was a consenting party to it. Another of these difficulties is found in the history of the Papacy itself, and as distinct from the personal character of the Popes themselves, which is a further question. I mean, that there are certain facts from time to time associated with the Papacy which are not in harmony with our Lord's words, "Upon this rock I will build my Church." In many senses the Papacy has never ceased to fulfil them in all time ; there are senses in which I am unable to reconcile them with its actual history.

As a guardian of doctrine, to my mind, the Papacy has been unimpeachable. As a guardian of discipline I should say the same in many centuries. But when I look at the Papacy during the 9th and 10th centuries, and part of the 15th, I am met by facts which I cannot get over ; and when I look at the Papacy at Avignon, and during the great schism of the West, the thought is forced on me, in spite of myself, "Can this indeed be the rock on which Christ has built His Church ?"

Therefore, were there no other passage of Holy Scripture to appeal to, I should feel sorely perplexed how to reconcile Christ's words with actual facts. But when I remember that those words formed the answer to S. Peter's confession of faith, "Thou art the Christ," and that the very next act of S. Peter, after he had been named the Rock, was to *deprecate the idea of His Lord suffering*, for which the immediate reply of His Lord was, "Get thee behind me, Satan !" I find every difficulty removed : because I see those facts in the history of the Papacy rebuked by anticipation in the rebuke thus read to S. Peter so soon after the confession of his faith, and for the very first of his subsequent acts. Therefore, the pomp, pride, and luxury, which has been charged against the Papacy by Protestants, and against the Court of Rome by saints of the Church, as S. Bernard, or doctors, as Gerson, Cardinal d'Ailly, and others, however melancholy, is by no means irreconcilable with the words of Christ to S. Peter, when both His speeches are brought into juxtaposition, and made joint interpreters of the entire history of the Papacy. But to measure it by the first of His speeches exclusively, I feel I must either disparage that speech or else ignore facts. Let me illustrate this by a case in

point which all can appreciate. S. Paul says, in one epistle, "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, who is in you, which ye have of God?" Were there no other qualifying passage in his epistles, how sorely should we not be puzzled to apply this verse to Christians generally, living in the world and not unfrequently led away by their passions. How difficult to interpret this verse intelligibly, and yet not overlook facts. But when, in another epistle, we hear the same Apostle representing Christendom in his own person, and saying, "I see another law in my members . . . bringing me into captivity to the law of sin" . . . we are at once relieved from any difficulty; and both passages together explain both our privileged and our actual state—the gifts which we have from God, and the acts which we nevertheless commit as men. I have, therefore, merely tried to explain difficulties to the best of my ability, in a way consistent with facts and with Holy Scripture, without by any means doubting, or meaning to suggest a doubt, that the Papacy is of divine institution. My explanation may or may not prove the true one. And the Church in communion with the Pope I hold to be the Catholic Church in unbroken unity now, as in times past. But I look upon all baptized Christians as forming part of one general Christendom, which, though unhappily not now synonymous with the *Catholic Church*, may still in some sense be called the Church; and I use such terms as the Church of England, the Greek Church, &c., as conveying a definite meaning which it would be difficult to express in other words.

The penultimate of our original extracts implied that "the Church" is now not corporately "united;" and we are glad therefore to find Mr. Ffoulkes rejecting that particular tenet. But as to all the rest, it will be seen at once that this letter leaves the matter exactly where it was. It is of faith that Christ gave immediately to S. Peter, and to his successors, supremacy over the whole Church. Mr. Ffoulkes, in opposition to the Catholic Faith, holds the following tenets: (1) that Christ did not in any sense give supremacy over the Church to S. Peter and his earlier successors; (2) that, had Christians preserved the "most evangelical" idea of the Church—the idea, therefore, most in conformity with Christ's wishes—none of S. Peter's successors would have had such supremacy; (3) that Christ, however, gave to the Church the power of appointing a supreme ruler whenever she might please; requiring only (4) that if she appointed any ruler at all, it must be S. Peter's successor. This is exactly the view of Mr. Ffoulkes's doctrine which would have been derived from our extracts; and his letter has confirmed it in every particular. He holds in his own sense no doubt, that "the Papacy is of divine institution;" *i. e.*, that God has appointed the Pope to be supreme ruler, *on the hypothesis* that the Church chooses to have a supreme ruler at all: but there

is no Catholic theologian in the world who will doubt that this whole doctrine is directly heretical.

We would not deny, however, that the case is imaginable of a writer who might, from ignorance or inadvertence, admit some heretical proposition into his work, while yet the main scope of that work might be edifying and Catholic. But it is abundantly plain that the tenet above mentioned, if held at all, must pervade throughout the whole texture of a treatise, written on such a subject as Mr. Ffoulkes has chosen: and since the tenet is heretical, the whole treatise is throughout leavened with heresy. That doctrine which Mr. Ffoulkes denies, if it be indeed true—and all Catholics are required to hold it as actually of faith—must of necessity be the one fundamental principle of the Church's constitution: and he, therefore, who with Mr. Ffoulkes rejects it, whenever he speaks of the Catholic Church, must speak of her, not as a Catholic speaks, but as a heretic.

One particular illustration of this is worth mentioning. The Unionists love to contemplate the Pope becoming a "constitutional king" as an end to be greatly desired. On Mr. Ffoulkes's theory this is perhaps intelligible: the Church, he may think, which delegated the supremacy, may withdraw or modify it. But then this theory is a heresy. It is an integral portion of the Catholic Faith, that Christ Himself commands all members of the Church to obey the Pope absolutely and unreservedly in the spiritual order. The Pope, then, could not possibly become a "constitutional king" in spirituals,—i. e., could not recognize his spiritual power as rightfully limited by any earthly authority whatsoever,—without teaching his flock to violate directly the very commands of Christ. He has no more power of becoming a "constitutional king" in spirituals, than he has of abolishing the episcopal order, or of changing the matter or form of a sacrament.

The work before us then is simply the violent assault of a heretic (material or formal) against the Church which in fact condemns him. Nothing can be more exquisitely ludicrous than to speak, as the *Union Review* speaks, of the "candour" with which Mr. Ffoulkes admits the Church's past corruptions or palliates England's present schism (May, 1865, pp. 310, 316). We really cannot be surprised at the "candour" of a heretic—we sincerely hope and believe a merely material heretic—in denouncing that Church to whose Faith he is an alien.

On the value of Mr. Ffoulkes's general argument, one circumstance will throw sufficient light. He assumes throughout

as the very basis of his remarks—as an admitted axiom with all whom he addresses—that Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, form no part of “Christendom;” while Photians,* Anglicans, and Protestants are included in that category.† Of course there is no possible sense of the word “Christendom” in which any Catholic can admit this statement. If by “Christendom” be meant those who adhere to that one religion which Christ founded, it includes Catholics and Catholics alone. If those be meant who sincerely regard Christ as founder of their religion, it includes (no doubt) Photians, Anglicans, and Protestants; but it also includes Nestorians, Arians, and Unitarians.

Mr. Ffoulkes’s book shall be mentioned once more before we conclude; but we reserve its main treatment for a future article. It ranges over a large portion of historical ground, and our present limits would not permit us to give any adequate impression of its extraordinary unfairness and inconsecutiveness. Moreover at last there is little satisfaction in exposing an opponent, unless some counter-view be at the same time exhibited of those facts which he may misapprehend. But no such counter-view can possibly be attempted, without devoting a whole article to the question; and this we hope to do in an early number.

If Mr. Ffoulkes is thus profoundly ignorant on the most elementary doctrines of that religion which he believes himself to have embraced, it is no matter of surprise that men avowedly non-Roman are equally ignorant. We will merely record the fact, therefore, that a writer in the March number of the *Union Review* (p. 141) stigmatizes as “the extremest ultramontane theory” that doctrine, which regards the visible Church as precisely co-extensive with the Roman obedience: the simple fact being, that no one who holds any other “theory” is received by the Pope into his communion at all; and that even Mr. Ffoulkes admits it in the letter which we have just inserted. He who denies the doctrine in question is regarded, we

* Photians, some of our readers may be glad to know, are those schismatics of whom the Russian Emperor is one; and who are called by Tractarians “the Greek Church.”

† “As long as controversy turned principally on those articles of the creed which related to God, Christendom on the whole maintained its unity. Its breaches commenced and have gone on widening ever since it engaged in questions relating to man.” That is, by a purely arbitrary and unmeaning use of words, Mr. Ffoulkes chooses to give the name of Christian to those who schismatised on the latter class of questions, while he refuses it to those who schismatised on the former. We do not here inquire how Mr. Ffoulkes can allege, that the Photian schism turned on theological “questions relating to man.”

say, as a heretic (material or formal) by every Catholic throughout the world; and, as we now understand, by Mr. Ffoulkes himself. The Catholic doctrine, indeed, does not deny (as has of late been strangely supposed), that individuals may be saved, both baptized and unbaptized, though they die out of visible communion with the Holy See. On this head we would refer to our remarks in April, from p. 459 to p. 469. But the Catholic doctrine undoubtedly does assert that such individuals, though appertaining to the soul of the Church, are separated from her body; and that Photians and Anglicans are no more within the visible Church than are Unitarians and Deists. To this doctrine all Catholics are required to yield the assent of divine faith; and we fully agree with the writer whom we are now noticing, that "it forces its upholders,"—*i. e.*, all Catholics throughout the world,—"into a rigorous antagonism to all desire and labour" for that extravagant project which he heretically calls "Catholic reunion." We will now give one or two reasons for agreeing with him in this proposition.

We are inclined to believe that the immense majority of non-Catholic Unionists are profoundly ignorant of that elementary Catholic doctrine, on which we have been speaking: though such ignorance might at once be removed by their consulting any Catholic theologian, however extremely Gallican. Certainly no Unionists have attempted to meet those obvious objections to their whole movement, which the doctrine in question necessarily presents. They are putting forth certain efforts and prayers "for the reunion of Christendom;" which at all events must include their own reunion with the Holy See. We would address them thus. The one fundamental principle of Roman Catholicism, as a doctrinal system, is the Church's infallibility: are your efforts and prayers addressed, or are they not, to the end that Catholics may abandon that principle? Look the question, we entreat you, in the face, and answer yes or no. If you make the former reply, you reply in fact that your movement is directed simply *against* Roman Catholicism; that you aim, like Dr. Cumming or Mr. Spurgeon, at inducing Roman Catholics to abandon their religion. In that case you can no more expect Roman Catholics to regard you as their friends, than they so regard those extreme Protestant divines just mentioned.

You will reply, therefore, that you do not desire Roman Catholics to desert their religion; that you are but labouring for re-union with them on its basis. You have no wish at all, then, that they shall abandon their belief in the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church. But this infallibility is com-

mitted, as we have seen, to the doctrine, that Christ has directly imparted to the Pope supremacy over all Christians ; you are labouring therefore, according to your own statement, for union with Roman Catholics on that basis. Now there is one way possible, and only one, for union on that basis : viz., *your own belief in that vital doctrine*. For consider. *Until* you believe it, the Pope cannot possibly admit you into his communion, because he cannot admit heretics thereto ; but *as soon as* you believe it, it binds you at once, *ipso facto*, under pain of formally committing mortal sin, to give the Pope that unqualified and unreserved submission which Christ enjoins. To promote re-union on the basis of Roman doctrine, is neither more nor less than to propagate the doctrine that Christ requires all baptized men to obey the Pope in spirituals absolutely and unreservedly. Do you at this moment yourselves believe this doctrine? Again we entreat you to look the question in the face, and answer yes or no. If you do believe it, you are meriting hell every moment you delay your resolve of submission ; and if you die during that delay, or without repenting of that delay, you will be eternally lost. But if at this moment you do *not* hold the doctrine in question, then you are perpetrating the unequalled absurdity, of labouring and praying for the propagation of a doctrine which you do not yourselves hold.

Meanwhile, never was anything more preposterous than your attempted justification of yourselves, by your appeal to historical instances of attempted corporate union with Rome. In all such cases a certain number of leading men, emperor or bishops, profess themselves to be in search of further light. They profess themselves to be in serious doubt, whether the Roman See possess really by divine appointment supremacy over all Christendom. Since the difficulties and circumstances of these men are much the same, they think it probable that combined consultation with Roman Catholic authorities will be their most hopeful road to truth ; while Rome on her side may well judge, that certain seasonable concessions in pure discipline may remove many prejudices and open a wider avenue for the entrance of truth. Then, since the mass of their fellow-countrymen is supposed to repose the greatest confidence in their judgment, the idea of corporate re-union may be far from a wild or improbable dream. But the whole procedure turns on this, that such men profess themselves to be in search of clearer light ; to have, at least, grave misgivings on the tenableness of their present position. Point, if you can, to one single instance, in which the Holy See has lent a favourable ear to any society approaching it in *your* mental

attitude. You hold confidently, you say, that you are now within the Church's visible pale; but you seek re-union with the Holy See, as a means of strengthening, elevating, and instructing your "Church." Name, if you can, one single instance in which such overtures have been made to Rome, and she has answered otherwise than as in the recent decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition.

No; if you would bring yourselves even approximately within the shelter of such precedents as you allege, we must imagine some such case as this:—A very considerable and influential number of Anglicans—headed, perhaps, by a Scotch "bishop," or, at least, by an archdeacon or two—would profess most serious doubt, whether you are not external to the Catholic Church while out of communion with the Holy See. You profess, nevertheless, that while you recognise the vast weight of evidence in Scripture and Tradition for Rome's divinely given supremacy, you are still oppressed with certain difficulties as to this or that doctrine which she teaches. You entreat of her, therefore, a full and free conference with her authorities, in order that you may either be rescued from misconception of her real teaching, or else may receive fresh theological and historical evidence, for certain dogmata which have hitherto staggered you. Meanwhile, you make the humbling confession that you cannot trust your own fairness and impartiality of judgment, so long as submission to Rome involves certain ritual sacrifices which you are unwilling to make. You beseech her, therefore, in compassion of your infirmities, to grant certain dispensations: to permit, *e. g.*, communion under both species, or to permit certain vernacular offices unconnected with the Mass. Under such circumstances (could we imagine them) it would not be incredible that Rome might make such concessions; that those converts who chose might be allowed the unenviable privilege, of separating themselves from the common rite of their fellow-Catholics, and being admitted to the Chalice; and again, that Vespers, and perhaps other parts of the Divine Office, might be chanted in English in some few chapels, which the new comers might frequent as long as their crotchet should continue.

It must be observed, however, carefully, that such concessions would be of pure discipline. You would be allowed, *e.g.*, to gratify your idiosyncrasy by communicating under both species: but you would be obliged, under pain of anathema, to believe interiorly with the assent of Divine faith, that the reasons were legitimate which prevailed with the Catholic Church to introduce the opposite discipline; and,

moreover, that Christ is received Whole and Entire, though under the species of bread alone.*

And there is one concession of discipline which most assuredly would never be made: a concession to which disgusting prominence has been given in the *Union Review*. We refer, of course, to clerical celibacy. The Holy Father has recently, as you know, published a "Syllabus," "embracing the chief errors of our age which are branded" in various censures put forth by him during his reign. These censures, moreover, claim, under pain of mortal sin, the interior assent of every Catholic. Now, this "Syllabus" refers us to a judgment put forth by the Pope in his first Encyclical on the celibacy of the clergy; and we beg for this judgment the particular attention of those few unhappy and degraded Catholic priests who have printed their revolting sentiments on this matter in the pages of the *Union Review*:—

To this appertains that most foul conspiracy against the sacred celibacy of clerics, which, grievous to relate, is fostered even by some ecclesiastics, who, miserably forgetting the dignity to which they have been raised (*proprie dignitatis misere obliti*), permit themselves to be overcome and seduced by the blandishments and charms of pleasure.

It is little to say that, after specially drawing attention to this judgment, Pius IX. will most assuredly not act in an opposite direction. The simple truth is this. Every one, not excused by invincible ignorance, is required under pain of mortal sin to accept interiorly this solemn judgment; to believe interiorly that the conspiracy against clerical celibacy which was proceeding in 1846 was "most foul," and that the priests who fomented it miserably forgot the dignity of their sacred office. No one, we suppose, will allege any important difference, in this respect, between the Europe of 1846 and the Europe of 1865; and the Pope indeed rules to the contrary, by now republishing his earlier decision. We can only infer, therefore, that the opinion against clerical celibacy, to which the *Union Review* gives such shocking currency, is in itself mortally sinful.

And now as to those Catholics in general who have unhappily joined the A.P.U.C. It has been flippantly and ignorantly said that the Roman Congregation made a mistake, in stating that these Catholics sanction the heretical doctrine of the Church's divisibility. A very few words will suffice to expose this incredible fallacy. Let us put a case. Let us suppose that English-

* Conc. Trid., Sess. xxi., can. 2 and 3. At last it may well be doubted whether the Holy See would ever grant to such men communion "*sub utraque*." Why should they desire it, unless (unknown perhaps to themselves) they are unsound as to the above-stated doctrine? On this matter emphatically the Church's discipline protects the Church's Faith.

men are at this time jointly engaged in prayer against cholera; and Frenchmen in prayer for success in some just war. A man would be mad who should say, that, as regards these respective petitions, the two nations are *united* with each other in prayer. To be united in prayer, all would at once reply, signifies that those so united are praying for the same object. Now an association starts up, of which far the larger portion is not Catholic; and these non-Catholics, as members of the association, give themselves to prayer, that the "divided branches of the Catholic Church" may be "reunited." Every one who chooses to look must see, that no one can *unite* himself to such prayer, except by praying for the same object; in other words, by implying that there are "divided branches" of "the Catholic Church." Catholics will pray most acceptably, as Cardinal Patrizi's letter reminds us, that certain heretics and schismatics may submit to the one undivided and indivisible Church; but such a prayer is no more *united* with the Anglican's, than an Englishman's prayer against cholera is united with a Frenchman's prayer for success in war. We do not deny—nor does the Roman Congregation deny—that certain Catholics may have joined the A.P.U.C. without observing this circumstance; but we do maintain that such as we have mentioned is the one legitimate significance of their act. A Catholic member of the A.P.U.C. is in effect—whether he intends it or no—a traitor to his faith and a deserter of his religion. And now that Rome has so clearly spoken, no room is surely left for ignorance or inadvertence.

Good Catholics cannot be too grateful to the Bishop of Birmingham, for the lead which he has so successfully taken against these enemies of the Church; and for the zeal and perseverance with which he has persisted in exposing the real nature of their scheme.

We have reserved to this place a very singular passage in Mr. Ffoulkes's preface. The italics are our own:—

What would be thought of the scholarship of that man who professed to lecture on the speeches in Thucydides, the choruses of Æschylus and Euripides, the satires of Persius, or the annals of Tacitus, while betraying every now and then his inability to construe and parse plain easy sentences in Latin and Greek Delectus? *But this is surely just what Christendom has been doing, for some time past, by its inspired classics.* It has been disputing and expending a vast amount of apparent learning upon some *passages of acknowledged intricacy*, respecting the Infallibility of the Church, the Supremacy of the Pope, Apostolical Succession, Inherent or Imputed Righteousness, Original Sin, Baptismal Regeneration, and the Real Presence—in all which, undoubtedly, there is a right interpretation to be upheld,

and a wrong interpretation to be condemned ; one view which is true, and another view which is false ; one line of action which is in harmony with the commands of Christ, and another line which is not. Still, as undeniably, when all those passages have been brought together, and enumerated and contrasted, they will be seen to be either few in number, or recondite in meaning ; *our conclusions will be found in each case to be based* either upon the literal sense of *two or three isolated texts*, or upon deductions from a number of texts mutually supporting or balanced against each other. They are, on the whole, like the obscure passages, or unique constructions, or terms of rare occurrence, to be met with in Thucydides, Æschylus, Persius, and other classical authors. Meanwhile, there are some simple sentences for beginners occurring over and over again in the *New Testament* which it would seem from our practice we are unable to parse or construe ; though, with the help of grammar and dictionary, there must be few incapable of penetrating to their full meaning. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. . . . If ye love me, keep my commandments. . . . This is my commandment, that ye love one another. . . . Owe no man anything, but to love one another. . . . Love is the fulfilling of the law" . . . and so forth. Is not the grammar of these sentences sufficiently clear ? Is there one word in them which is ambiguous ? "Good Master," said one, "what shall I do that I may have eternal life ?" And Jesus answered—first repeating the question, that there might be no mistake about it—"If thou wilt enter into life"—and then employing, in His reply, the very terms in which He afterwards laid down the true criterion of our love to Him—"Keep the commandments."

In all other cases, common sense forbids our ever indulging in the sophistry that by keeping one commandment we may break another, and not incur punishment. Those who steal are not let off because they do not commit murder as well ; those who give way to their lusts, without violating truth, are not supposed to escape with impunity. Therefore, when I contemplate Christendom *obstinately quarrelling over its more recondite obligations from age to age, and yet so notoriously unmindful of this primary and most undoubted one*, I can only suppose that we are all of us bad scholars (*καρὶ ἀρίστοι*), unable to construe and parse those plain and easy sentences which recur so often in the course of the *New Testament*, and whose construction and whose terms are so trite that they can have but one meaning (p. vii.-ix.)

It is impossible to exhaust the various reflections suggested to a Catholic by this strange piece of writing ; yet we cannot avoid making on it some little comment. And we will begin with this : either the passage is altogether unmeaning—just as nonsense verses are unmeaning—or else it expresses the Protestant rule of faith ; it contains a denial of the Catholic rule, and an affirmation of the Protestant. Mr. Ffoulkes's argument is this : "One particular doctrine is most manifestly contained in Scripture ; certain other doctrines are but obscurely there contained ; hence the former doctrine

is very far more certain than these latter." If the author holds the Protestant tenet,—viz., that Scripture was given as the one instrument for imparting knowledge of doctrine—this argument is valid and forcible; but if he follow the Church's teaching, the whole paragraph is a simple string of absurdities. Firstly, the Council of Trent receives Scripture and Tradition "with equal affection of piety, and [with equal] reverence" (Sess. 10). However obscurely, then, any doctrine might be expressed in Scripture, if it were clearly contained in Tradition, it would be just as certain to every Catholic as though it were expressly stated in Scripture. But, secondly, all Catholics are required to regard the *Ecclesia Docens* as infallible in every definition of faith. Supposing, therefore, a doctrine to be defined by the Church which is not *clearly* contained either in Scripture or Tradition (as *e.g.*, the Immaculate Conception), they must regard it as not less absolutely certain, than those which Scripture and Tradition most irrefragably testify.

The next comment which we must make carries our conclusion still farther. Nothing can be more certain than that the *Ecclesia Docens*—the Catholic Episcopate in communion with the Holy See—has consistently pursued the very course which Mr. Ffoulkes denounces. She has anathematized those whom she accounts heretical on "The Infallibility of the Church, the Supremacy of the Pope, Original Sin," or any other revealed matter; and by the very fact of thus anathematizing them, she has separated them by an impassable barrier from those whom she regards as free of heretical taint. It appears, then, from the two last sentences of the preceding extract, that, in Mr. Ffoulkes's opinion, the *Ecclesia Docens* has for many centuries instructed Christ's people "to quarrel obstinately over their more recondite obligations," and meanwhile entirely to forget the "primary and most undoubted" obligation of all. Now the *Ecclesia Docens* claims to be in all spiritual matters Christ's one representative on earth. Plainly, a body which, in Christ's name, has acted so consistently and energetically against Christ as Mr. Ffoulkes supposes, must deserve no less severe a censure than violent anti-Catholics allege; she must be anti-christian, and a type of Antichrist. We are far from being unfair enough to imply, that so misty and inconsecutive a thinker as Mr. Ffoulkes really masters the consequences of his own statement; but such as we have said is its consequence, though he may fail to perceive it.

That such opinions as these should be expressed by a writer who sincerely believes himself a Catholic, is a fact (we imagine) without precedent in all the annals of puzzle-headedness and

bewilderment. And we really hope the exhibition may be of permanent service. Many men are under the practical impression—some excellent Catholics are not quite free from it—that intellectual revolt against authority, however *morally* censurable, implies at all events the presence of great *intellectual* power. Mr. Ffoulkes's example must undeceive all such men. It must show them that there is no imaginable amount of intellectual feebleness and confusion, which affords a guarantee against any imaginable amount of intellectual lawlessness and rebellion.

And what can be poorer than the author's attempt at a Scriptural argument in the passage just quoted? He applies himself with great pretension to give Scriptural proof for the opinion, that Catholics should love those who hold erroneous doctrines. Was there ever, then, a Catholic in the world who denied this? Was there ever a Catholic who denied the obligation of loving heretics and schismatics? But even when Mr. Ffoulkes holds a true opinion, he seems unable to give a good reason for it. He quotes our Lord's injunction, *e.g.*, that His disciples should love *one another*. Were any of His disciples, then, heretics or schismatics? Our Lord, by exhorting them to mutual love, teaches Catholics in every age to love their fellow Catholics; to love those who accept doctrine from the same infallible oracle, and who obey the same spiritual authority. But by what possible interpretation can such texts be made to inculcate the duty—unquestionable as that duty is—of loving those who are *not* fellow disciples; who do *not* yield submission of intellect and will to the same spiritual authority? If heretics and schismatics were lineal descendants of Christ's disciples, Mr. Ffoulkes's text would be to the purpose; but since all Catholics hold the reverse of this as a fundamental principle of their religion, and since he addresses his argument to Catholics, it is difficult to make out what he can be dreaming of.

The author's argument further assumes, that to excommunicate heretics is inconsistent with loving them; and that the whole *Ecclesia Docens* has, consequently, from the very moment of her original foundation, violated habitually and on principle the fundamental law of Christian love. As he merely assumes the truth of this frightful charge against the Church, without one argument in its behalf, he leaves nothing for Catholics to do, except to deny the charge as peremptorily as he makes it.

* Pius IX. has often expressed this duty in the strongest terms. "Let our faith," he says, "be exclusive, but our charity expansive." See also the passage quoted in our last number, p. 460.

We will say no more, however, on the contradictoriness between Mr. Ffoulkes's opinions and his position : we will take him as being, what he really is, a Protestant ; and we will consider his argument on its own merits. It will furnish then a fresh illustration of that close affinity between unionism and indifferentism which has been noted by the Roman Congregation, if we observe his striking resemblance to Dean Stanley in general spirit and drift. It is for this reason, as well as for its own intrinsic importance as a sign of the times, that we have mentioned at the head of our article a paper, read by this most amiable and accomplished writer to a meeting of his clerical brethren. In this essay the Dean states or implies (to mention no other particulars) that "the theology of the nineteenth century" affords a far truer and more Christian bond of union than is supplied by the Church's organization and authority ; that the spirit of Dr. Döllinger and other "liberal" Catholics is really more in accordance with that of the "Essays and Reviews," than with that of the Encyclical and Syllabus ; * and that the real barrier to perfect sympathy between enlightened Catholics and Protestants, is not Catholic doctrine in itself, but the dogmatizing and domineering spirit of existing Catholic authorities. We have no space to consider the essay as a whole ; yet before we join issue with the argument in which he unites himself to Mr. Ffoulkes, we will criticise one or two other statements which he puts forth in opposition to Catholic doctrine.

For instance. "Is it possible," he inquires (p. 256), "that we can now return from this *higher* knowledge of the Bible to the grooves of the 'summa theologiæ ?'" Is it possible, one may as sensibly ask, that now railways are invented, men can fall back on simple beef and mutton ? Scientific theology aims at one end, scriptural exegesis at another ; each is good in its place. Of course the Dean thinks quite otherwise ; but the objection which we make is this : he is addressing his argument to Catholics as well as to Protestants ; yet he takes no pains to remember—it is really possible he may not know—the most elementary rudiments of the Catholic religion. The Church teaches that Christ imbued the Apostles with a vast body of doctrine, which was to be the animating principle of their lives ; that while they expressed a greater or less part of this doctrine more or less clearly in Scripture, they handed down the whole of it in its integrity by means altogether independent of Scripture ; that a science has started into existence, under the Church's watchful guidance, for the purpose of giving to intellectual men an accurate knowledge of this

* Dr. Döllinger will not thank the Dean for this implication.

doctrine, in its contents and bearing; while it is admitted by all that S. Thomas holds the highest place among the doctors of this science. How can any Catholic, then, possibly say, without virtually denying his faith, that exegetical criticism will give man a "higher knowledge of the Bible" than is derivable from scientific theology? The Apostles, in every word which they uttered bearing on faith and morals, were influenced by one vast, definite, profound, harmonious, mass of doctrine. What key, then, to the true sense of their words is even comparable in efficacy with a scientific study of that doctrine itself?

The Dean says, indeed, that an ordinary student of the nineteenth century has a far greater "enjoyment" of the Song of Deborah and the Book of Job than fell to fathers and schoolmen. But the real question is, which of the two classes is more able to penetrate the full depth of our Lord's sacred utterances, or to seize the correct sense of S. Paul's teaching. The Dean, of course, denies that Catholic theology is a sure guide to doctrinal truth; but we are here speaking of Catholics who know the contrary. Surely it can need no argument to prove, that those who already possess a full and scientific acquaintance with doctrine in general, will be immeasurably keener than any others, in appreciating the sense and scope of any one doctrinal statement in particular.*

What can possibly be Dean Stanley's meaning, then, when he says (p. 257) that "French Catholics and French Protestants, and German Catholics and German Protestants . . . are employed in studying the same Book (the Bible) *on the same general principles*"? How can any two principles in the world be more irreconcilable than the two before us?—the Protestant, on the one hand, which says that our knowledge of doctrine is purely derived from our knowledge of the Bible; and the Catholic, on the other hand, which leads to the immediate conclusion, that our doctrinal apprehension of the Bible must be altogether based on our scientific study of theology? The Dean is sanguine enough to imagine (p. 257) that Roman Catholic and Protestant are nearer to a mutual understanding than at any previous time. Certainly if he is to be taken as a sample of Protestants, facts directly contradict him: for the most commonplace Protestant controversialist has a truer apprehension of Catholic doctrine, than any which he has displayed.

* On the inappreciable importance of studying scholastic theology, we would refer to some most admirable remarks in the "*Civiltà Cattolica*," which were analyzed by us in a recent number. See our number for July, 1864, pp. 207-212.

But the Dean, flying off into an opposite extreme, implies (p. 253) that the recent Encyclical opposes itself to exegetical criticism altogether. We cannot imagine whereon he bases such a fancy, unless it be on prop. xiii., censured in the Syllabus. Now, what is that proposition? "That the method and principles of scholastic theology are unsuited to the necessities of our time." Surely it is most possible to reject this proposition energetically, and to hold, nevertheless, that exegetical and linguistic criticism has also its own place of usefulness. To approve the one is not to condemn the other. Every Catholic, no doubt, must in consistency hold that scientific theology (and there is no scientific theology *except* the scholastic) is absolutely requisite for any trustworthy doctrinal exposition of Scripture. But when strictly subordinated to this science, critical study may produce very valuable results, and the Church ever encourages its active prosecution. Nor do we at all deny, but distinctly admit, that on a number of questions, subordinate indeed yet highly important, Protestant inquirers have supplied, by the result of their labour, invaluable materials for a Catholic's use. Yet there is one important remark here to be made. Take any one of those scripture texts which may be called emphatically doctrinal. Compare, on the one hand, such an exposition of it as would be supplied by Catholic theology; compare, on the other hand, the very best which Protestant criticism can furnish. The purely linguistic and exegetical critic must admit (if we could suppose him impartial) that the former presents, of the two, a far deeper and more germane comment on the passage; attaches a far more profound, satisfying, and adequate sense to the sacred words. Just as the Catholic Church alone authenticates Scripture and attests its inspiration, so she alone can furnish the real key to its doctrinal significance and drift.

In a similar spirit Dean Stanley states in effect (p. 262), that scientific theology gives a less true and vivid representation of our Most Holy Redeemer, than would be obtained by an independent and critical study of the four Gospels. Now, let us look at the case as it stands. A long series of most touching acts and words is recorded concerning Christ. Who is He who did those acts and spoke those words? Is He, on the one hand, a most pure and spotless creature, sinless and incapable of sinning, filled with the treasures of Divine wisdom and knowledge, entrusted by God with an all-important revelation? Or is He, on the other hand, the Eternal Creator Himself? The distance is not less than infinite between Christ as conceived in these two respective ways; nor can any end,

therefore, be more important (here we thoroughly agree with the Dean) than that the Gospels shall be studied with a true apprehension of Christ. If the speeches and actions therein recorded are meditated under the deep practical impression, that in literal truth they are the very speeches and actions of Almighty God—no meditation can tend so powerfully to elevate and supernaturalize the mind. If they be read under a different impression, they lose their one characteristic charm; the salt has lost its savour; it is good for nothing any more but to be cast out and trodden on by men. How, then, you may ask, does the Catholic Church secure their being rightly contemplated? But this is not our precise question. We are not here asking by what means she obtains the desired result for *her children in general*; though on this we shall presently have a word to say: but we are here asking what *study* she recommends in this view to the educated and intellectual. The answer is simple: she recommends a mastery of the scientific doctrine on Christ's Person and Natures; nor can we conjecture what other intellectual means is even imaginable. Dean Stanley, however, considers such intellectual exercises as "more or less barren both for speculation and edification" (p. 262); and we are the more curious, therefore, in inquiring what he would substitute in their place. Strange to say, no answer is forthcoming. He says again and again that we should study "the character of His acts down to the minutest details;" that we should strive to "delineate" Him "morally and historically;" in fact, that we should throw our whole mind on the Gospel narrative. But all this is beside the question. His acts and words may be studied, either as those of a perfect creature, or as those of the Almighty Creator; and we are asking what provision the Dean suggests, in order that a student may carry with him throughout a true practical impression, on this unspeakably momentous alternative. The Dean regards scholasticism as an unsuitable means for this. We ask what study does he recommend in its place? The question is simple and elementary enough; but we have read the essay carefully from beginning to end, without finding the remotest suggestion of an answer.

We should expect, then, *à priori*, that Protestants would suffer most serious mischief in their study of the Gospels, from their ignorance of scholastic science: nor was there ever a case in which theory was more amply confirmed by experience. The great majority of Protestants sincerely believe themselves to hold the doctrine of Our Lord's Divine Personality; but we believe that there is not one in a thousand who practically holds what he has speculatively accepted. We are not speaking here

of the Tractarians; whose exception, indeed, emphatically proves the rule, because they do study scientific theology. Apart from them, certainly that class of Protestant religionists in England which might be expected most firmly to grasp this vital verity, would be the Evangelicals; for they rest their whole scheme on the Atonement. Yet it was shown many years ago in the "Tracts for the Times" that Jacob Abbot, whose book was welcomed with enthusiasm by Evangelicals both here and in America, exhibited a picture of Our Lord intermediate between the Arian and the Socinian. Passing to the present time, and to take the first which occurs out of a thousand instances, no Protestant has studied the Gospels more accurately, more laboriously, with greater critical power, in a more reverent spirit as far as intention goes, than Professor Lange. He announces that "Christ miraculously attained to full consciousness of His calling as the Redeemer, at His baptism in Jordan."* The Omniscient God, it seems, having taken our nature to redeem us, after many years of comparative ignorance, at the age of thirty arrives miraculously (!) at a knowledge of what it is which He has come upon earth to do. What can be the practical impression of him who thus writes,—what can be the practical impression derived from his work by those who unsuspectingly read it,—except that Jesus Christ is something less—and if something, then infinitely less—than the Creator?

We are not unmindful of a logical reply which may be attempted to our accusation: it may be alleged that Lange speaks of our Lord's human knowledge; and that the language quoted is compatible with a belief, that He possesses a Divine and Infinite Knowledge concurrently. We answer confidently—and we are sure all impartial persons will agree—that no one, practically impressed with the conviction that Our Lord is the Omniscient Creator, could possibly have so written, without, at the same time, *expressing* the supplementary truth of Christ's Infinite Divine Knowledge. It is even more obviously indubitable, that the impression made on unsuspecting readers must be such as we have described; while yet no murmur of dissent has been heard from the Protestant world or from the Protestant translator. But we are not sorry that the supposed reply has occurred to us, because it will give us opportunity for a few words on an important subject. Scholastic theology has not merely analyzed with great accuracy the doctrine of the Incarnation; it has also explored a supplementary body of truth, on the endowments of

* "On S. Matthew," Clark's English Translation, p. 312.

Christ's human soul : nor is there anything which more claims the attention of intellectual men, who would study the Gospels with full fruit, than a study of this whole exposition. We cannot here refer to other portions of it ; but we will speak of its pronouncement on Our Lord's human knowledge. The Church attaches so great importance to true judgments on this head, that she has actually anathematized as heretics those who have held that Our Lord, even in His human nature, was ignorant concerning "the day and hour" of Divine Judgment.* Theology teaches, in accordance with this, that Christ's human knowledge was from the first complete and perfect in its sphere ; that at the very moment of His soul's creation, it knew and actively apprehended all which it knew and actively apprehended at any subsequent time ; consequently, that neither in the earlier period was there imperfection, nor at a later period addition. Our first and most obvious remark on this doctrine is in opposition to Dean Stanley. If this doctrine be true, it is plain that Catholics who study the Gospel history under its light, possess an immeasurably clearer and truer view of what they read than is accessible to Lange, however inferior they may be to him in linguistic knowledge and exegetical skill. But, further, we would suggest that this doctrine is, *in practice*, a necessary supplement to the doctrine itself of the Incarnation. In speculation, no doubt, a thinker may hold that Our Lord's Divine knowledge is Infinite, while His human knowledge, during His stay on earth, was rising from the poor and imperfect to a fuller and more perfect state. But let us imagine any one to set about studying the Gospels under this belief. He would find it impossible, we are persuaded, to retain the *practical impression*, that he is studying the words and acts of Almighty God ; though his speculative belief in that doctrine might remain unaltered. We cannot here treat the subject thus opened, proportionately to its interest and importance ; but as it has in some sense obtruded itself on our attention, we have thought it better not entirely to pass it over.

Then the Dean makes another attack on scholasticism. "In older theology," he says (p. 260), "there seems (of course with brilliant exceptions) to have prevailed this general defect, that endless controversies, and defences and attacks, have gone round and round these sacred terms [which express dogma] without even asking what they mean." There is no need for replying to such a statement ; we may safely leave it to the amazement of those, who possess the most superficial acquaint-

* See "Petavius de Incarnatione," l. xi., c. 4, 15.

ance with scholastic writers. Nor, again, can we profess surprise at any density of ignorance displayed on such matters by a Protestant divine. But we confess we do a little wonder how it happened, that Dean Stanley, who must have been profoundly conscious of his own ignorance, was rash enough to commit himself so deplorably.*

Perhaps no part of the paper before us is more singular, than that in which the author contrasts the "calmness" of the new school with the "alarm and vehemence" of the more orthodox. Firstly, we would submit to him (we mean no offence by the illustration), that a burglar has no difficulty in keeping his temper; but that when the master of the house, on rising, finds himself to have sustained grievous loss, he deserves no small praise if he bear that loss with perfect patience. In like manner, when an assault is made on the object of a man's dearest attachment—the body of definite and divinely revealed truth—he is, of course, tempted to anger and excitement; though he should undoubtedly fight against that temptation. But the other party is on the aggressive; it has taken up a new theory, and is labouring to spread that theory. Such men are tempted, not to harsh language, but to other faults instead; to inconsiderateness towards simple piety, to random assertions, reckless insinuations, flippant sophistry, and the like. How far they have been even as successful as their opponents in guarding against their peculiar dangers, we shall not here attempt to decide.

But now what are the instances given by Dean Stanley of this "vehemence," which he regards as so sure a mark of the false and losing cause?† Among members of his own com-

* Presently the Dean quotes this solemn warning from a Protestant Professor (p. 261): "Consider the havoc which must needs follow if people, without having clearly perceived the meaning of 'Nature,' without having agreed among themselves on the strict meaning of the word, enter on a discussion on the 'Supernatural.'" Such, the Dean implies, was the habit of scholastic writers. We wish the author would accept at our hands a penance for his random allegations. We should enjoin him to study accurately the careful consideration to be found, in Ripalda's great work "*De Ente Supernaturali*," on the various senses of the word "nature," for the purpose of explaining the scope of his own immediate subject (l. i., d. 3). And we should also enjoin the Dean not to bring any more of his theological speculations before the public, till he could pass an examination on Ripalda's argument.

† The author at times uses these two epithets as almost synonymous. Thus (p. 266) he inquires which of the two contending parties "feel most assured that truth and victory are on his side." One of these parties is the Pope; the Dean therefore seems really to think that Pius IX. is not confident in his heart on the justice of his own cause! But what we are especially pointing out, is the author's matter-of-course assumption, that in this corrupt and fallen world the side of truth is certainly the side of victory.

munion, he cites Dr. Pusey, in his commentary on Daniel; a work for which that learned Professor has earned the warmest gratitude of every good Catholic, and in which, for ourselves, we are quite unable to see any expressions of undue severity towards the Indifferentist party. But the author's principal instance is Pius IX.'s recent Encyclical; which he denounces as filled with "cries, lamentations, hyperbolic rhetoric, imprecations, and adjurations" (p. 265). Before meeting this monstrous charge, we must seriously complain of Dean Stanley's great inaccuracy: which is the less excusable, because it gives a most false impression on the nature of Pius IX.'s act. He says that Dr. Döllinger and Sir J. Acton were "the special objects so furiously attacked" (p. 266). The special objects! Why, in the Encyclical neither of them is directly touched at all; and as to the Syllabus, is it Dr. Döllinger and Sir J. Acton who hold that there is no God; that Jesus Christ is a mythical fiction; that any wicked or flagitious action is to be extolled, if done for love of country? Such are the tenets which Pius IX. denounces as "monstrous portents of opinion." Would the Dean give them a softer name? As to Dr. Döllinger and Sir J. Acton, we are not aware of any propositions which can be supposed directly to concern them, except props. xii., xiii., and xxii. It appears then, at starting, that the "special objects, so furiously attacked" in the Encyclical and Syllabus,—are not mentioned in the former at all, and in the latter only occupy three propositions out of eighty. And it appears further on inspection, that these three propositions are all extracted from one original document, viz., the Munich Brief; and that this Brief, so far from containing a "furious attack," is worded throughout in terms of most guarded courtesy. The Dean himself, at all events, is by no means averse from that "hyperbolic rhetoric" which he ascribes to the Vicar of Christ.

But is it indeed at variance with the true Christian spirit, to speak with extreme severity—with what an opponent may choose to call "hyperbolic rhetoric"—against doctrinal error? The error was not uncommon in Apostolic times, that the Jewish law is of permanent obligation. No one acquainted with Dean Stanley's writings will doubt what judgment he would have formed on that error. He would have said that none but the narrow and uncharitable could regard it as an obstacle to Christian union; that the Judaizers accept all the essentials of Christian doctrine and morality (see p. 259); and that they are fellow-heirs of heaven with the rest. S. Paul's judgment, however, differs from the Dean's. He teaches that these miserable men have been removed into

another gospel; that they who preach such a gospel are under an anathema; that "as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse;" that if Gentiles "are circumcised Christ shall profit them nothing" (Gal. i. 6, 8; iii. 10; v. 2). Had the Dean then lived, would he not have stigmatized all this as "hyperbolical rhetoric"? Then consider again such passages as the following; from which, indeed, some of the Holy Father's strongest expressions are textually taken.

But these men, as *irrational beasts*, naturally tending to the snare and to destruction, blaspheming those things which they know not, shall perish in their corruption, Receiving the reward of their injustice, counting for a pleasure the delights of a day: stains and spots, flowing in delights, rioting in their feasts with you, having eyes full of adultery and of sin that ceaseth not: alluring unstable souls, having their heart exercised with covetousness, *children of malediction*: . . . These are fountains without water and clouds tossed with whirlwinds, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved. For, speaking proud words of vanity, they allure by the desires of *fleshy riotousness* those who for a little while escape, who converse in error: promising them liberty, whereas they themselves are the slaves of corruption. For by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave.—2 Peter ii. 12—14, 17—19.

But these men blaspheme whatever things they know not: and what things soever they naturally know, like dumb beasts, in these they are corrupted. Wo unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain: and after the error of Balaam they have for reward poured out themselves, and have perished in the contradiction of Core. These are spots in their banquets, feasting together without fear, feeding themselves, clouds without water, which are carried about by winds, trees of the autumn, unfruitful, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own confusion*, wandering stars; to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever. Now of these Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying: Behold, the Lord cometh with thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to reprove all the ungodly for all the works of their ungodliness, whereby they have done ungodly, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against God. These are murmurers, full of complaints, walking according to their own desires, and their mouth speaketh proud things, admiring persons for gain's sake.—Jude 10—16.

We ask the Dean in all seriousness one simple question. Are these passages to be accepted as the accents of the Holy Ghost? or, on the other hand, are they to be ridiculed and denounced as replete with "cries, lamentations, hyperbolical rhetoric, imprecations, and adjurations"? It is not to his honour, if he will refuse plainly and publicly to answer this plain and public question.

He may possibly reply, indeed, that these writers were Apostles, commissioned by God to teach and govern the

Church, and who might well therefore use a freedom of speech which in others would be condemnable. We fully concur in such a statement; but entreat him to remember that Pius IX. claims the very same jurisdiction which was possessed by S. Peter, and a higher than that possessed by S. Paul and S. Jude.

If anything could be more wonderful than the author's censure of the Pope, it would be his eulogy of Sir J. Acton. Sir John's "farewell," he thinks, was "manly and high-spirited," his "attitude calm, dignified, and respectful" (p. 266). We wish our readers would refer to a few extracts from this "farewell" which we gave last July (pp. 66-69); here we can but give a brief selection. "Authority may be protected," he says—he means that ecclesiastical authority is protected—"by its subjects being kept ignorant of its faults and holding it in superstitious admiration." "*The twilight of opinion* enables it to assume the halo of infallibility." "Its arts are simply those of all human governments which possess legislative power, fear attack, deny responsibility, and therefore shrink from scrutiny." This, forsooth, is a "calm, dignified, and respectful attitude" towards the authority, which Sir John admits to have received from God the keys of the Kingdom, and the promise that whatever it binds on earth shall be bound in heaven.

It is the main drift, however, of Dean Stanley's essay, with which we are mainly concerned: and in its bearing on Catholicism this drift may be stated as follows:—"There is no important difference of interior character between a Catholic and a Protestant. That familiar and friendly intercourse between the two, which is so called for by the spirit of Christian love, is impeded only by mutual misunderstanding, and by the un-Christian stress laid on doctrine as such." This is the phase of indifferentism which is just now most fashionable among educated English Protestants; and there is much reason for regret, that the existing works of Catholic controversy supply little or no protection against its insidious assaults. When these works were written, not indifferentism but dogmatic Protestantism was the enemy in the field. In Ireland this is still the case: in England, again, dogmatic Protestantism exercises most powerful sway over multitudes of vulgar minds, both in the upper and the middle class; but we doubt whether it now influences one single person of real thought and cultivation. Meanwhile, according to the fable of the sun and wind, many unsuspecting Catholics, who would be proof against the onslaughts of open hostility, are charmed and sent to sleep

by the voice of professing friendship ; and under the specious delusion of pursuing Christian charity, lose all the freshness, simplicity, and energy of Christian faith. No more grievous intellectual need exists in England, than a full exposure of indifferentism, in itself and in its innumerable ramifications. We can here of course attempt no more than the merest skeleton of a reply to our author ; and what little we do attempt will be addressed exclusively to Catholics. How to make the Catholic reasoning intelligible to Protestants, is an important question, on which, however, we have no space to touch.

At starting let us suppose, merely for argument's sake, that in one or two exceptional cases the Dean's supposition held good ; that here or there a Catholic might be found whose interior character * differs in no important respect from that of a Protestant. Still we must maintain that this fact is, firstly, his own fault ; and, secondly, his unspeakable misfortune. It is precisely our wish that this misfortune be not indefinitely extended—our wish that the purity of faith and of Catholic instinct may not suffer more grievous and extensive injury,—which leads us to protest with our whole soul against the detestable theories of Dean Stanley and Mr. Ffoulkes. We will begin, then, with reciting some principal doctrines and authorized usages, tending most powerfully to influence the interior character, which are integral portions of the Catholic religion, and to which all Protestants are more or less strangers ; and we will afterwards draw various inferences from this enumeration. Moreover, as we must carefully consult for brevity, we will not consider the case of Photians and other Eastern heretics or schismatics ; but only of European Protestants and English Tractarians. Lastly, we confine our examination to matters which directly and importantly affect the interior character ; there being other doctrines, truly momentous in various other respects, on which we do not touch.

(1.) Catholics practically hold, no less than speculatively believe, that He who died on the cross is the Eternal God. We have already stated that, putting aside the Tractarians, we believe the number of Protestants to be extremely small who practically hold this doctrine ; though the great majority of them consider themselves to believe it. And we shall see the reason of this, when we consider the principal means whereby the Catholic Church secures its true presentation to the mind of

* It can hardly be necessary to warn our Catholic readers, that in the following discussion the word "character" has its ordinary and popular meaning ; totally distinct from that theological sense, in which it is said that certain sacraments impart a "character."

her children. We do not here speak on books of meditation, nor again of scientific theology; because these, though instruments of signal efficacy, are available, of course, only for the educated classes. Nor again do we speak of the Catechism; which is amply sufficient for engendering speculative belief in the great doctrine, but not always for ensuring its full practical apprehension. The means whereby the great body of Catholics is duly trained in this respect, seem to us mainly two;—devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and to Our Lady: and since Protestants, in their blindness and ignorance, have abandoned both, it is no matter of surprise that the treasure has escaped from their grasp. The belief that, by a stupendous miracle, the Redeemer is personally present in every Tabernacle, impresses the mind with a sense of His indefinite greatness; while the divine worship, internal and external, which Catholics offer to the Blessed Sacrament day after day, preserves in their mind the fresh and vivid impression of His Divine Personality. Then as regards devotion to our Blessed Lady. The practice, so peculiar to Catholics, and at the same time so universal among them, of uniting themselves with Mary in the contemplation of Jesus, unspeakably elevates their conception of His Divine Majesty. Yet we cannot wonder that Protestants reprobate devotion to our Lady altogether; for their own practical conception of Christ rises hardly (if at all) above the Catholic's conception of Christ's purest creature.

(2.) Firm belief in the Real Presence, and the habit of frequent communion, as is known by all who try the experiment, produce in the mind a profound and incommunicable effect of their own.

(3.) Devotion to our Lady is the peculiar heritage of Catholics. The immense majority of Protestants regard it with reprobation and horror; those more lenient, with indulgence and excuse: but Catholics cherish it as among their dearest possessions and their highest privileges. We will here appeal to those Catholics who have once been Protestants. We will suppose them to have accepted on faith that fully-developed Marian devotion which is *there* encouraged, whither all sound believers look for light and guidance—viz., in Rome; and we will further suppose that they have practised assiduously the devotion thus learnt. Let us even put the case that these men have been Tractarians; and therefore, even in their pre-Catholic days, have really embraced and practically apprehended the doctrine of our Lord's Divine Personality. These, however, no less than others, find that their devotion to Mary, while unspeakably intensifying their awe and reverence, has, at the same time, given a quality of tenderness, confidingness,

intimacy, to their love of Him, which has been an absolutely new experience; and, generally, that it has imparted a familiarity with the invisible world, a realization of supernatural truth, an unworldliness of thought and affection, a practical belief in the efficacy of prayer, a power of self-control, to which otherwise they would have been strangers.

(4.) All Catholics recognize the Evangelical Counsels; and consider that those who follow them pursue a higher and more heavenly method of life than any other.

(5.) Consider, again, the Saints of the Church: how singularly like to each other! how singularly unlike to all besides! It is part of Catholic doctrine that the Church is actually infallible in proposing these holy beings to the love and reverence of the faithful. Moreover the practice is earnestly inculcated on every Catholic of studying carefully their acts and lives, as the one highest and truest exhibition of Christianity; as presenting the one type of character most acceptable to God—the type of character, by approximating to which, and in no other way, can men become better Christians.

(6.) Whether in perusing these lives, or in studying works of ascetic theology, all Catholics are taught that the one true way of rising in true holiness is to unite diffidence in self with confidence in God; in other words, to labour energetically towards fulfilment of His Will, in the spirit of simple reliance on His strength as enabling them to do so. One school of Protestants denies this doctrine, by affirming that all our efforts for consistent obedience are vain, and, indeed, anti-Christian; and that our best acts are in God's sight but as filthy rags. The opposite school, ignoring or denying original sin, holds that we can really advance to our true end, by works done in our natural strength, and in the spirit of self-reliance.

(7.) It is an essential truth of Catholicism, that the one end for which man was created is the love and service of God; that men are more admirable, more excellent, more perfect as men, not at all in proportion as they are more intellectual, or more gifted with practical power, or more nobly descended, but exclusively as they are more morally and spiritually advanced. On no point is there more real difference than on this, between the respective morality of Catholics and Protestants.

(8.) All Catholics are required to go annually to confession; and are earnestly exhorted, both to go much oftener, and also to practise regularly and systematically a rigid examination of conscience. Moreover, in the confessional they submit themselves to the priest, both as their judge and their physician; while he is obliged to adjust his counsels and decisions by a

whole system of moral and ascetical theology, which he is authoritatively taught in his ecclesiastical education.

(9.) Catholics hold that even the smallest sin is a greater evil than any other in the world *except* sin; that for each smallest sin future suffering (in purgatory) is justly due; that efficacious repentance for venial sin is far from easy; that men cannot in this life obtain (whether by indulgences or otherwise) remission for the punishment of any one such sin, *without* efficaciously repenting it. We are not denying that after death the penalty may be shortened, or even removed altogether, by the prayers of survivors or by the indulgences which these may gain; but still the doctrine which we have mentioned stands out in startling contrast with Protestant misbelief. Even the everlasting punishment of mortal sins is fast disappearing out of the Protestant's creed; and a Catholic's sensitiveness to small offences was always unintelligible to the Protestant world. Matt. v. 17—19 may be thought to have been specially pronounced by anticipation, against those frightful heresies introduced by Luther, which have pervaded Protestantism in all its phases like a besetting plague.

(10.) Catholics have also a very real and influential belief, in the constant battle to be waged, by those who would obtain salvation, against the attacks of those evil spirits who are so crafty and sagacious, and, at the same time, such malignant enemies to God and man. Such a belief has now hardly any practical existence with most Protestants.

(11.) An English Catholic has a very far closer corporate connection with a French or Italian Catholic, than with an English Protestant. He owes immeasurably more unreserved attachment to the Church than to the State;* and holds, moreover, as of divine faith, that the Pope is by God's immediate appointment the Church's supreme ruler. Consequently his one reasonable attitude of mind towards the Holy Father is an immeasurably more ardent and (as it were) chivalrous loyalty, than was due, *e. g.*, to the Stuarts even on the highest theory of divine right.

We need not continue our enumeration further; and we are obliged to confine our remarks on it within the briefest possible space:—

I. A very little consideration will show, that a habit of pondering on those truths, and diligently practising those

* See this doctrine drawn out in our number for last October, pp. 379—382.

usages, which we have now mentioned, must necessarily engender a most peculiar and pronounced interior character—one most widely different from any other. It may be alleged, indeed, that certain extreme Tractarians, by pondering on their own doctrines, would be similarly affected; we will remark, therefore, that, though we cannot agree with this statement, its truth would in no respect affect our argument.

II. Further, God revealed Catholic doctrine for the very end that men should contemplate and dwell on it. Since, therefore, the duly pondering on Catholic doctrine leads to a certain most definite interior character, this character must be singularly pleasing to God. It cannot be saying too much, to affirm that the production of this character is one principal end for which God revealed Catholic dogma.

III. Again, as this character would infallibly be produced by the contemplation of Catholic dogma, so the converse also holds: those who possess it will understand far better than any others the true force and bearing of such dogma; and on various matters of thought will instinctively cleave to sound opinions, while they shun those which are unsound.

IV. Indeed, this interior character may be considered as substantially identical with what are called "Catholic instincts." Those who possess it have a most special gift (supposing them to possess adequate knowledge of *facts*) of seeing on each occasion which is God's Preference, and how they can best please Him. It ranks them among a Catholic's most precious possessions.

V. Here occurs a vital question. Great multitudes have really not the opportunity or the gift of contemplating Catholic doctrines one by one. Have these men no means of acquiring this most precious possession? On the contrary, God has specially provided for their need, by enjoining that duty on which we laid stress at the outset of our article; viz., docility to the Church's "*juce magisterium*." By unreservedly surrendering themselves to the Church's influence in every shape; by being diligent in the Catholic duties of their station; by reading those books which have the Church's sanction; by seeking the company of priests, and of those laymen who are called abroad in derision "*clericals*;" by avoiding familiar intimacy whether with persons of a different religion, or with unsound and disloyal Catholics; by exercising extreme caution and reserve in all intercourse with Protestants and all study of Protestant literature;—by these and a thousand similar methods all may imbibe that true Catholic spirit, which places them in real sympathy with the Church's mind; gives them the instinctive habit of obedience to ecclesiastical

authority; and constitutes them the Church's trustworthy defenders.

VI. Since the season of childhood and youth is immeasurably the most impressible of all, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of preserving the purity of a Catholic atmosphere throughout the whole of education. Far better for Catholic youths to be in constant contact with men sick of the plague, than with men aliens to the Church.

VII. Even intellectually speaking, no result can be more contemptible than that which ensues on mixed education. There is no surer mark of an uneducated and uncultivated mind, than that a man's practical judgment on facts as they occur, shall be at variance with the theoretical principles which he speculatively accepts. Suppose, *e. g.*, a politician, who is busy in forwarding measures, condemned by that theory on political economy which he professes to accept. What would result? We should all cry out against his shallowness, and lament that he had received no better intellectual training. Now, this is the necessary result of mixed education. The unhappy Catholic who (whether from his own fault or that of others,) is so disadvantageously circumstanced, becomes a contemptible mongrel: Catholic in his speculative convictions, non-Catholic in his practical judgments; holding one doctrine as an universal truth, and a doctrine precisely contradictory on almost every particular which that universal truth comprises.

VIII. Further, we can thus discern (see prop. lxxix. of the Syllabus) the deplorable nature of that calamity which overspread Europe, when unhappy circumstances necessitated in so many countries the civil toleration of religious error. The Catholic atmosphere, instead of pervading the nation, is withdrawn, as it were, within the more purely ecclesiastical sphere: a wide and ever increasing gulf opens between the clergy on one hand, and the great body of the laity on the other: religious indifferentism eats like a cancer into the very vitals of society; a disease, perhaps, by the very reason of its impalpableness and subtlety, more perilous than almost any other by which the body politic can be affected.

IX. Lastly, as has been more than once implied, fraternization and familiar intercourse, whether with Protestants or with unsound and disloyal Catholics, tends inevitably to destroy, not indeed all speculative belief, but at least all practical apprehension, of those great truths which Christ came to teach us.

Now, men of all parties will agree, that the principles here stated, if true, give abundant reason for the detestation

and abhorrence which we feel both for Dean Stanley's views and Mr. Ffoulkes's projects. The former, indeed, is more comprehensive than the latter, as to those whom he would include; while the latter proposes more complete union with those whom he does comprehend. But both writers proceed on the same principles. Both writers are profoundly ignorant of the effect produced by true doctrine on the interior character. Both assert that the undue stress laid on distinctive doctrine is the one unhappy barrier, to that unity which the spirit of Christianity so peremptorily requires. Both virtually deny that submission is due to the "juge magisterium" of the Church. Both hold that the *Ecclesia Docens* has acted in a narrow and domineering way. Both understand, by that much-abused word "union," the "agreement to differ;" instead of using it to signify that harmony of heart, spirit, and affection, which can only be based on unity of faith.

The Catholic's answer to them both is most simple. Either Christ did, or did not, commit a large body of momentous dogma to the infallible guardianship of the Holy See and the Catholic Episcopate. To believe that He did not, is to abandon Catholicism. If He did—as every Catholic is required to believe that He did—Catholics have nothing for it but to accept with humble submission that body of dogma, precisely as it is taught them by that authority which Christ has empowered infallibly to propose it. We do not deny that there are many open questions; that various tenets, held firmly by individual Catholics, are nevertheless in no sense obligatory on a Catholic's belief; but we must maintain that no private Catholic can even guess, by his own judgment, what questions are or are not open. The good Catholic submits his judgment unreservedly to the Holy See; he holds those tenets to be respectively heretical, unsound, improbable, which the Holy Father declares to be such; he thinks independently for himself on those questions alone, which the Holy Father leaves perfectly free. Mr. Ffoulkes, we suppose, would admit (so far as words go) that the Holy See is the centre and principle of doctrinal unity: we cannot imagine what such words signify, unless they mean that precise verity which we have now stated.

It is urged by many, as an argument against denunciation of unsound Catholics, that members of the Church should at least live in union with each other, if they would succeed in their aggression on the world. No end, we reply, can be more inestimably important, than that sound and loyal Catholics—those heartily submissive both in intellect and will to the Holy See—should be bound together in firmest union. But are all Catholics such? Certain persons will reject, indeed, any

tenet as *heretical* which the Church so denounces, but will not ascribe to a proposition, as infallibly deserved, any *lesser* censure with which the Church may have branded it: nor will they accept as infallibly true those instructions of the Holy Father (such as the "Mirari Vos," or the "Quantà Curà" with its appended Syllabus) which are not definitions of faith. These men do not, therefore, actually cease to be Catholics, but they are unsound and disloyal Catholics; and they commit, moreover, as we must maintain, (materially at least) mortal sin. So far from its being desirable that a private Catholic should be in "union" with such men, his attitude of mind should be simply antagonistic to their whole position; he should regard them as mischievous and dangerous rebels. Certainly he should tenderly love them, as he should tenderly love heretics and schismatics. Certainly he should dwell admiringly on their good qualities, and give their every act the most favourable interpretation of which it is reasonably susceptible: but this again is also his duty towards heretics and schismatics. And his love for one class, as for the other, should be exhibited, not by fraternizing with them (God forbid!), but by endeavouring (if he have the opportunity) to awaken in them a sense of their error and peril. The writers in the *Union Review*, whether Catholic or Protestant, show no great "union" of heart, either with what they call "the ultramontane party" (*i.e.*, loyal Catholics), or with this REVIEW, which they are pleased to regard as its "leading organ in England."* We may be permitted, we suppose, to abhor their principles as cordially as they abhor ours.

The great mass of Catholics, as we observed at the outset of this article, have no such intellectual cultivation, as to be tempted towards that miserable disloyalty to the Holy See of which we have just spoken. And among educated Catholics there is a large and (we really believe) an increasing class, who look to Rome as to their one guiding star amid the tempests of life; who obey her every command and wish; who are docile, not merely to her smallest expressed instructions, but to her whole practical "magisterium." That these men may come more and more to know each other, to understand each other, to love each other; that those otherwise minded may be led in ever increasing numbers to see the error of their ways; that such loyal and devoted subjects may form an impregnable

* As one instance out of a thousand, the *Union Review* for March, 1865, after commenting on this REVIEW, concludes that "the advance of ultramontanism means the advance of intolerance, both political and intellectual, in the very worst sense of the word" (p. 209).

barrier of defence to the Holy See; that through their co-operation the Chair of Peter may be, in a constantly increasing degree, revered through the world as the one Chair of Truth, and as the highest seat of legitimate authority;—this is a wish and prayer for Christian “union,” which we express with deep sincerity and from the bottom of our heart. Such is that “union” which alone is healthy and stable, because it is based on the principle of submission. Let those who desire union remember, that the Holy See has been established by Christ as the one bond and means of unity.

The preceding article had been sent to press, when we accidentally met with “A Few Words on the Pope’s Encyclical Letter,” by Rev. F. Maurice,* and with the strange statement there contained, that the Pope has now shown himself “not the uniter of Christendom,” but “*emphatically its divider*” (p. 277). The extraordinary shallowness of this remark lies in Mr. Maurice’s strange notion, that the sharp and uncompromising rebuke of error is a new fact in Papal history. Arians, Nestorians, Pelagians, Lutherans, have successively exclaimed that the Pope of their day is not the uniter but the divider of Christendom. In fact, Mr. Maurice has given to that word “religious union” the same paltry sense affixed to it by Dean Stanley and Mr. Ffoulkes—as signifying “the fraternization of men who mutually differ on doctrine and principle;” whereas the true meaning of “religious union” *emphatically and prominently* includes the idea of “*interior agreement on religious questions.*” In the case of rude and uncultivated minds, or again of men who do not apply their cultivated intellect to religion at all, such agreement may be sometimes produced by the mere force of inertia, by the merely passive reception of hereditary beliefs. But wherever there is both activity of thought and an application of such thought to the moral and spiritual order, no mode can be imagined (not openly miraculous) for securing religious union, except a common belief in some authority, as having the gift of infallibly deciding on each question as it arises. Nothing, then, can be more intelligible, and nothing more obvious, than our statement that the Pope is the one “uniter” of Catholic Christendom, in the only adequate sense of that word. And we may here further add, that since the chief questions con-

* *Macmillan’s Magazine* for Feb., 1865.

nected with religion which now agitate the human mind are not directly doctrinal—though there *are* important doctrinal controversies also—but rather those philosophical and political questions which are indissolubly mixed up with dogma, the Holy Father could no longer fulfil the high office of “uniter” entrusted to him by God, unless his infallibility extended to these latter questions also. But then it does thus extend: and his recent Encyclical, therefore, has in no other sense tended to “division,” than did his predecessors’ condemnation of Arianism or Pelagianism. On the other hand the Encyclical has directly and importantly promoted “union,” because it has tended to diffuse among Catholics far greater unity of belief on various important matters, than had hitherto existed.

We cannot, indeed, for the life of us understand what special quarrel Mr. Maurice has with the Encyclical and Syllabus. We willingly concede to him, that if these were not infallible pronouncements, their promulgation would have had a mischievous and schismatical tendency. But he must surely in his turn concede to us, that, if they *be* infallible, it is a great blessing that the Holy Ghost has inspired them, because they give to mankind an infallible knowledge of various momentous truths. Mr. Maurice does not believe in the Pope’s infallibility, and we do; but we can really see no other point at issue.

We are very glad, however, of the opportunity to place before our readers an important line of thought, expressed by the illustrious Monseigneur Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, in a “mandement” issued shortly before the Encyclical.

“Here is interposed,” says the bishop, “an objection which has become familiar to the men of our time, even to good sort of men. If it is the Church’s duty to guard the truth, it is also her duty to save souls. Now may not too great attention to one of these duties interfere with the fulfilment of the other? Is the moment well chosen for affirming more strongly and putting forth more precise statements, when the susceptibility of men’s mind and the delicacy of their case require rather a tender treatment? Why not leave in their obscurity those practical or speculative questions which the last generation never examined very attentively? In particular, at a time when human society is sick with the one widely-spread malady of naturalism, why so accurately set forth, develop, emphasise, the principles, laws, and whole economy of the supernatural order? Is not this to widen the gulf of existing separations?”

Such was the almost universal cry during the period of Arianism; and the ambassadors of secular princes held similar language during the deliberations of the Council of Trent. “Why a new and unreasonable declaration, which wears the appearance of aggression? Why a stricter definition or more absolute symbol than in times past? Should not the Church, *in order to*

*maintain her character of visibility and Catholicity, have regard to her numbers?** What will be the advantage of separating from the Church that multitude of vacillating minds, *which might be maintained in her communion by a less explicit formula?*" Oftentimes those great bishops, on whom weighed the care of sacred interests, found these protests on the lips even of friends and defenders of the good cause. Animated by the Spirit of God, which is a spirit *both of love and of strength*, those illustrious champions of the Church knew how to reunite that consideration which is due to the weak with that inflexibility which orthodoxy demands; and without pronouncing any decrees of exclusion which would have overpassed the end desired, maintained, nevertheless, the special word of doctrine with indomitable tenacity; and defended it with so much authority, interpreted it with so much knowledge, that the doctrine assailed shone forth in irresistible lustre."†

"Would you know to what point learned men should by preference direct their studies? . . . Observe on what side error directs its attacks, its denials, its blasphemies. That which in every age is attacked, denied, blasphemed, is what the same age should principally defend, affirm, profess. Where sin abounds, grace must superabound. . . . When the world contests, then it is that the Church analyzes, fathoms, defines, proclaims. . . . The love of doctrine, the passion of truth, are inflamed in faithful hearts; and the sacred deposit, far from undergoing any diminution, exhibits in full light the treasure of its wealth."‡

ART. VI. — PROPOSED MANUAL OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

1. *Abridgment of the History of England.* By J. LINGARD, D.D. With continuation from 1688 to the reign of Queen Victoria. Adapted for the use of schools by JAMES BURKE, Esq., A.B. London: C. Dolman. 1855.
2. *A Manual of British and Irish History.* By the Rev. THOMAS FLANAGAN. London: Richardson & Son. Second thousand. 1852.
3. *A History of England for Family Use and the Upper Classes of Schools.* By the Author of "The Knights of St. John," &c. London: Burns & Lambert. 1864.

WE have not named these works as specimens, each in its respective way, of such a complete production as we desiderate; but rather the contrary. It would be both needless and invidious to give our reasons for this statement; and it is obvious, of course, that treatises may be most learned and most accurate which do not nevertheless succeed in arrest-

* Here is an anticipation of Mr. Ffoulkes.

† "Instruction synodale sur les principales erreurs du temps présent," pp. 16—18.

‡ Pp. 15, 16.

ing and firmly fixing a student's attention. But we certainly think that a Manual of English History for use in the upper classes of our colleges remains yet to be written.

The difficulties of teaching history have not escaped the notice of those whose duty it is to assist the rising generation in its studies, and those who have undertaken the anxious task of its tuition. An able paper upon the subject appeared some three years ago in the "Museum," and previous to this it had been treated of in either the Oxford or Cambridge Essays, or in both. We refer not at present to anything in the shape of what is called the Philosophy of History, though, with Frederic von Schlegel on our side, we venture to dissent from both the tone and substance of Dr. Lingard's denunciation of it. Like everything else that is good, it merely has to be kept in its proper place. But the question we purpose examining is simply this: How can the various facts, the sum total of which constitutes history, be got into the minds of youth, and be got into them in such a way as to have a reasonable chance of not, altogether at least, getting speedily out of them? Of course, judgment is very requisite on the part of the student, and so is memory; but taking youths and young men as they are, the majority do possess ordinary powers of judgment, and are blessed with fair average memories. How, then, is history—the history in particular of their own country—to be made easy of reception and retention to them? It is of no use giving up the endeavour to make it so, whatever may be the number of discouraging past efforts. They cannot shut up their books, as can dissatisfied tyros in medicine, law, or divinity, and determine upon having no more of it. No; they must, *volentes volentes*, work at, and acquire a knowledge of, history; and if no smooth royal road can be found to it, they must of necessity trudge along the rough and humble one. True it is that there are a number of special cases in which a special and peculiar course would be the wisest to adopt. But college youths are not, taking them as a class, so unlike each other that a thoroughly good system would fail to benefit a very large majority.

Now a good system of teaching history depends very materially for its success upon the text-book in the hands of the student. In fact a proper text-book is necessarily part and parcel of any good system; and here it is that our Professors find themselves at a stand-still. They may spend hours in drawing up summaries of facts, in arranging and classifying dates, and in cataloguing manners, laws, and customs: abstracts and abridgments of this or that period may abound among

their pupils, and interminable pedigrees be laid bare before them; but manuscript notes, however pithy or however elaborate and lengthy, can never, in point of utility, come up to or do the work of the printed text-book, which should be in the hands of each member of the class. They are at best but fragmentary portions of what ought to be one complete harmonious whole, oftentimes encumbered with the additional disadvantage of requiring to be deciphered piecemeal before the drift even of them can be divined. Add to all this the fact that, in the first place, it is rare indeed to find, even within the academic walls of a college where studies flourish, a man possessed of the tact requisite, or of the painstaking spirit necessary, for supplying that which, in the case of all other branches, the Professor finds ready at hand; in the second, if such a man is to be met with, his time and attention have too commonly to be devoted to such a multiplicity of pursuits, that he has perforce to fill several places, instead of being the right man in the right place; and thirdly, that there are many young men solicitous of becoming acquainted with the past of their native land, who cannot afford the expensive luxury of a college education, or whom circumstances deprive of the time needful for a thorough college course. No; once again and for all, a sound and well drawn up Catholic text-book of English History is one of the many things very much needed at the present moment. And if the effect of these pages should happily serve to stimulate any reader to become the writer of such a work, our end in penning them will be more than accomplished. The hints here thrown out upon this important topic are intended less to satisfy the want so long and so widely felt, than to make it apparent to others blessed with more leisure than we ourselves can look forward to possessing, and with more ability than we can for one moment pretend to. They are by no means intended to exhaust the subject, but merely to open it, and put it in the way of being more successfully, even if not at the first quite satisfactorily, dealt with.

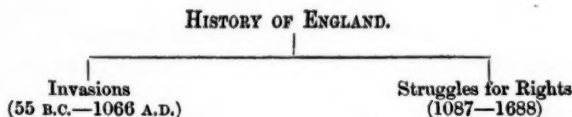
In every other department of study, order and classification have been made wonderfully subservient to the cause of education. Facts, laws, and rules are collected and arranged in a manner so simple and so natural, as to present little or no difficulty to the recipient mind, and to require no effort beyond what every youth of ordinary powers is capable of making, to ensure permanent occupation of the mind. Now do not the facts of history admit of some more definite grouping and classification than they have met with in the works to

which we allude? We certainly think so; and will venture at once to put forward a programme of English history, which will at least serve to illustrate our view of the whole question of history-teaching. And it will make what has to be said more easy of expression to ourselves, and, we think, more easy of comprehension to our readers, if for the nonce we suppose our "History" to be actually lying in print before us, and treat of it accordingly.

Opening the volume, then, we see at a glance that the process upon which it has been drawn up has been one of the simplest analysis. The whole work is divided into two Books; and the first Book treats of a phase of events totally different in character from those which form the contents of the second. As Macaulay has observed, "Here" (*i.e.* during the reign of John) "commences the history of the English nation. The history of the preceding events is the history of wrongs inflicted and sustained by various tribes, which indeed all dwelt on English ground, but which regarded each other with aversion such as scarcely ever existed between communities separated by physical barriers." And every one familiar with the history of England must likewise have noticed, that from the time when those several tribes had so far amalgamated as to admit of being called, *en masse*, the English nation, the most prominent historical feature throughout—say from 1150 A.D. to very recent times—was the Struggle for Rights. In other words, no sooner had the various hordes that came to wrest this land from its owners settled down as friends or conquerors of those they had despoiled, than they turned upon those leaders, to whom, for the sake of plunder, they had agreed to submit. They themselves had ceased to be freebooters; their chiefs must cease to be buccaneers. They had exchanged the javelin and the coat of mail for the ploughshare and the civic gown; he must lay aside the sword and the helmet, and take unto himself the crown and sceptre of royalty and peace. The need of military discipline on the part of the multitude, and of military despotism on the part of the leader, had ceased; and as they were no longer under any necessity of obeying without murmur or hesitation, he must beware of giving stern and peremptory orders, as in the fighting days of old he had for the common weal been permitted by them, and compelled by circumstances, to do. The pristine order of things had passed away. The compact between chieftain and adherents had been fulfilled, and a fresh one must be entered upon, corresponding with the new and far different state both of the governor and the governed.

The six centuries of struggles between subjects and monarch; of mutual recriminations; of passion and of headstrong and inopportune attacks on the side of the people, and of political short-sightedness, narrow-mindedness, and violent but abortive efforts to retain a power which had the sanction neither of natural law or human compact on the side of the prince; of civil wars and the shedding of the blood of some of the noblest families of the land, of royalty even itself, and that upon the scaffold; these six centuries have fearful and thrillingly interesting tales to tell, and these constitute the main feature of the latter half of our History of England.

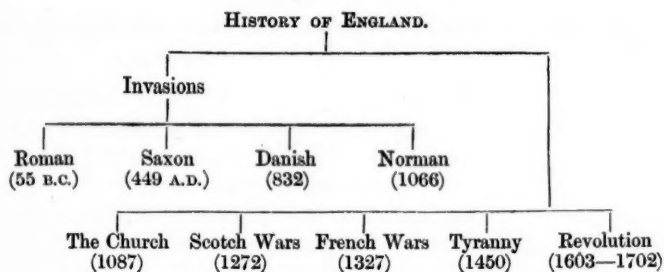
The whole work, then, is divided, as has been said, into two Books; and Book I. treats of the Invasions, Book II. of the Struggles for Rights. Or, for greater clearness, putting the matter thus:—



Book I. has naturally four divisions or parts, each part being devoted to one of the four great invasions. Book II. may be divided in several ways. The simplest arrangement seems to be to separate it into five Parts. The first of these treats of those struggles which occurred during the period when churchmen were about the only persons blessed with an education, and hence pre-eminently suited to take the lead of rude warriors in their efforts to gain constitutional freedom. And so the Part of the history which describes them is appropriately headed "The Church." The second presents no difficulty in the way of choice of title. For, as far back as the close of the thirteenth century, the power of the purse had begun to manifest itself in the assemblies of the nation, and concessions to be wrung from the sovereign by the relief of his pecuniary embarrassments. These embarrassments arose and continued in the main from one great and persistent cause—the unceasing state of warfare with neighbours, which characterizes almost every reign from the fourteenth down to the present century. And from the reign of the first of the Edwards until that reign which began under auspices which no longer rendered the monarch's necessity his subjects' opportunity, the strings of the national purse were invariably tightened or loosened in keeping with the tightening or loosening of the constitutional rein.

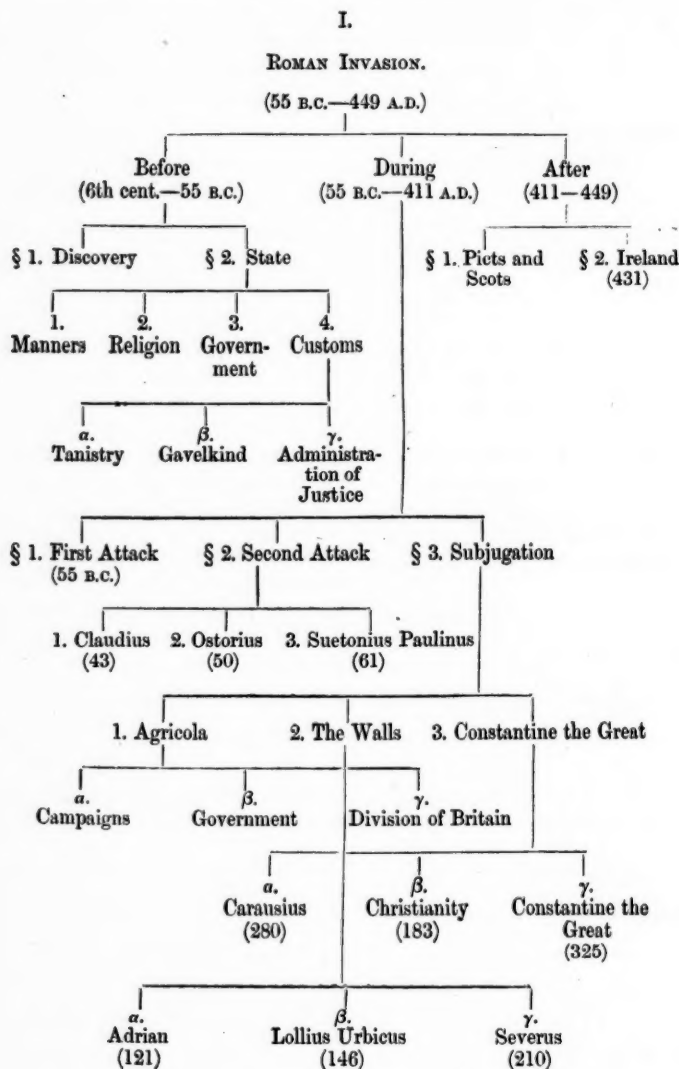
The wars undertaken by our sovereigns with reference to Scotland are the first which our ancestors made good use of for their own purposes. The initiative of a policy steadily and perseveringly pursued for four centuries was taken when they arose. Hence Part the Second, which takes in the history of England from A.D. 1272 to 1327, enters the classification under the title of "Scotch Wars." The purse principle, which owed its origin to the Scotch wars, thrived vigorously during the period (A.D. 1327—1450) of the "French Wars;" and how it did so the Third Part of our history teaches us.

No sooner, however, had the wars with France ceased, than the progress of liberty received a check which, for many years, seemed to have been complete and decisive. For immediately the foreign wars had so far subsided as to permit of a little quiet enjoyment of dearly-bought concessions and privileges, like the Romans in the degenerate days of the Republic, our ancestors turned their arms against each other, and undid by civil discord the network of constitutional restraint which it had been the constant labour of the fighting generations of old to weave with all possible skill around the sovereign's prerogative. In the Wars of the Roses the best blood of the land was profusely shed; and at their expiration a race of sovereigns unequalled in the annals of any country for energy, tact and vigour, found the pleasure of being tyrannical almost too cheap to be prized, and so sought a new field for the display of their native talent by usurping a supremacy over the souls, in addition to that over the bodies and goods, of their subjects. The Fourth Part of the history is, therefore, appropriately styled "Tyranny;" for the Tudors were, in spite of Edward's youth and imbecility, emphatically tyrants of the first water; though, doubtless, Mary's *tyranny* partook less of the modern and more of the early Greek signification than that of either her lascivious father or her cruel and perfidious sister. And the "Tyranny" lasted from about 1450 to 1603, when signs of a new order of things altogether began to appear. The events of this period, which owed their existence simply to the old principle of the purse being more keenly, boldly and steadily pursued than even during the balmy days of the olden times, are very conveniently classified under the head of "The Revolution," and embrace the period of history between the years 1603 and 1702. The framework of the "History" is then as follows:—



Each Part is, of course, subdivided into chapters, and each chapter has its sections with their paragraphs and notes. Thus, the Roman invasion has its first chapter devoted to events *previous* to the actual arrival of the invaders ; and this has its two sections, one of which treats of the Discovery of our island, and the other of its State at the date of its discovery. The latter has its four paragraphs, which describe to us the Manners, Religion, Government, and Customs of the aborigines ; while three brief notes, headed Tanistry, Gavelkind, and Administration of Justice, bring under the observation of the student the only three points to which he need pay very particular attention. The second chapter deals with the events which occurred *during* the invasion, *i. e.* between the years 55 B.C. and 411 A.D. It has three sections, devoted respectively to the First Attack, the Second Attack (under Claudius 43, under Ostorius 50, and under Suetonius Paulinus 61, as the paragraphs inform us), and the final Subjugation (Agricola, the Walls, Constantine the Great). Notes to the paragraph which treats of Agricola describe to us his Campaigns, his Government, and his Division of Britain ; notes to the paragraph on "the Walls" contain brief allusions to the builders of the four celebrated walls (Adrian 121, Lollius Urbicus 146, and Severus 210) ; while three remaining notes give an account of the introduction of Christianity into Britain (183) ; of the person, character, and doings of Carausius (280) ; and of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor (325). Chapter the third deals with the years that intervened between the end of the actual Roman invasion and the beginning of the Saxon, *i. e.* between 411 and 449, and naturally occupies itself with a brief account of the Picts and Scots, who, when the Roman soldiers were recalled from the "ultimos orbis Britannos" to assist the empire in its new defensive operations, so mercilessly ravaged the northern portions of the island ; and takes up the history of Ireland from about the date (431) when

St. Patrick first preached the faith therein. All this reduced to the skeleton or pedigree form stands thus :—



Or, as it stands in the table of contents of the volume :—

PART I.—ROMAN INVASION.

BEFORE THE INVASION (6th cent., 55 B.C.).

§ 1. *Discovery.*

§ 2. *State.*—1. Manners ; 2. Religion ; 3. Government ; 4. Customs
(Tanistry, Gavelkind, Administration of Justice).

DURING THE INVASION (55 B.C.—411 A.D.).

§ 1. *First Attack* (55 B.C.).

§ 2. *Second Attack.*—1. Claudius ; 2. Ostorius ; 3. Suetonius Paulinus.
(43) (50) (61)

§ 3. *Subjugation.*—1. Agricola (Campaigns, Government, Division of
Britain) ;
2. The Walls (Adrian, Lollius Urbicus, Severus) ;
3. Constantine the Great (Carausius, Christianity,
Constantine the Great, Emperor).

AFTER THE INVASION.

§ 1. *Picts and Scots.*

§ 2. *Ireland* (431).

The plan of the whole work being thus laid before the reader, we proceed to run through it ; and for brevity's sake will omit the skeleton or pedigree forms to which each Part is reduced, and confine ourselves to merely giving the tables of contents.

PART II.—SAXON INVASION.

ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS (449).

§ 1. *Origin.*

§ 2. *The Heptarchy.*—1. Kent by Hengist ; 2. Sussex by Ælla ; 3
(457) (491)

Wessex by Cerdic ; 4. Essex by Erconwald ; 5. East Anglia
(519) (527) (545)

by Uffa ; 6. Bernicia by Ida ; 7. Deira by Seomel ; 8.
(547) (550)

Mercia by Creoda.
(585)

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONSTITUTION.

§ 1. *Grades of Rank.*—1. Royal Class ; 2. Ealdormen ; 3. Thanes ;
4. Ceorls ; 5. Slaves.

§ 2. *Lands.*—1. Bocland ; 2. Folcland ; 3. Lænland.

§ 3. *Assemblies.*—1. Hall-mote ; 2. Court of the Hundred ; 3. Shire-
mote ; 4. Witenagemote.

§ 4. *Administration of Justice.*—1. Trials (Compurgation, Ordeal) ;
2. Fines (Mund, Were, Healsfang, &c.).

§ 5. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*—1. The Clergy ; 2. Architecture.

THE BRETWALDAS.

- § 1. *Ælla* (491—518).
 - § 2. *Ceawlin* (568—589).
 - § 3. *Ethelbert* (589—616).
 - § 4. *Redwald* (616—624).
 - § 5. *Edwin* (624—633).
 - § 6. *Oswald* (635—642).
 - § 7. *Oswio* (642—670).—1. Events of his reign ; 2. Literature of the Anglo-Saxon period.
 - § 8. (*Supplementary*).—Ina of Wessex and Offa of Mercia, who never (688—728) (780—794) received the title of Bretwalda.
 - § 9. *Egbert* (827).
-

PART III.—DANISH INVASION.

SAXON LINE.

- § 1. *Kings of England*.—1. Egbert ; 2. Ethelwulf ; 3. Ethelbald ; 4. Ethelbert ; 5. Ethelred ; 6. Alfred the Great (Battles with the Danes, Government) ; 7. Edward the Elder (Defensive operations, Offensive operations).
(828) (836) 858 (860) (866) (871) (901)
- § 2. *Kings of All England*.—1. Athelstane (the Danes, Continental influence) ; 2. Edmund ; 3. Edred ; 4. Edwy the Fair ; 5. Edgar the Magnificent ; 6. Edward the Martyr ; 7. Ethelred the Unready (Sums of Money, Massacre of St. Brice, 1002, Sweyn 1013).
(925) (941) (946) (955) (959)

DANISH LINE.

- § 1. *Canute*.—1. Edmund Ironside ; 2. Canute.
(1016) (1017)
- § 2. *Harold Harefoot* (1036).
- § 3. *Hardicanute* (1039).

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

- § 1. *The Five Earls*.
 - § 2. *Government*.
-

PART IV.—NORMAN INVASION.

HAROLD II.

- § 1. *Harold*.
- § 2. *His Sons and the Danes*.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

- § 1. *Conquest*.—1. William acknowledged King ; 2. Struggles of the

- Anglo-Saxons (Exeter, the North, &c., Camp of Refuge, Edgar Etheling) ; 3. Death and character of William.
- § 2. *Feudalism*.—1. Modifications of, by William ; 2. Incidents (Reliefs, Primer Seisin, Aids, Wardship, Marriage).
- § 3. *Changes in the Constitution*.—1. Grades of Rank (Earls, Barons, Free tenants, Villeins, Officers of the Crown) ; 2. Lands (the Demesne, Knights' Fiefs) ; 3. Assemblies ; 4. Administration of Justice (Amerciaments, Presentment of Englishry) ; 5. Ecclesiastical Affairs.

PART V.—THE CHURCH.

CUSTOMS.

- § 1. *William Rufus*, 1087.—1. First Crusade—Robert of Normandy ; 2. Lanfranc and St. Anselm.
- § 2. *Henry I.*, 1100.—1. Reforms—Roger of Sarum ; 2. Temporary Abolition of Investitures—St. Anselm ; 3. Settlement of the Succession.
- § 3. *Stephen*, 1135.—1. Stephen ; 2. State of the Nation ; 3. Matilda ; 4. Stephen again.
- § 4. *Henry II.*, 1154.—1. St. Thomas (Courts Christian, Council of Clarendon, First and Second Councils of Northampton, Martyrdom 1170) ; 2. Ireland, 1172 ; 3. Henry II. (first Measures, Rebellion of his Sons, Administration of Justice and Third Council of Northampton, Scotland, and France).
- § 5. *Richard I.*, 1189.—1. The Jews ; 2. Third Crusade ; 3. Exactions—Hubert of Canterbury.
- § 6. *John*, 1199.—1. Loss of Normandy ; 2. Ecclesiastical Elections—Innocent the Third.

MAGNA CHARTA.

- § 1. *John (continued)*.—1. Archbishop Langton ; 2. The Barons ; 3. Magna Charta, 1215 ; 4. Embarrassment of Archbishop Langton and the Barons.
- § 2. *Henry III.*, 1216.—1. Louis of France ; 2. Confirmation of Magna Charta, 1224 ; Ecclesiastical Affairs ; Rebellion of Leicester ; Burgesses called to Parliament, 1265.
- § 3. *Amalgamation of the Races*, 1200—1300.

WALES.

PART VI.—SCOTCH WARS.

SCOTLAND.

- § 1. *Edward I.*, 1272.—1. Settlement of the Crown ; 2. Dunbar, 1296 ; 3. Falkirk, 1298.
- § 2. *Edward II.*, 1307.—1. Bannockburn, 1314 ; 2. Favourites ; 3. Revolts.
- § 3. *Subsequent Wars*.—1. Halidon Hill, 1333 ; 2. Neville's Cross, 1346 ; 3. Burnt Candlemas, 1356.

LEGISLATION.

- § 1. *Revenue.*
- § 2. *Violation and subsequent Confirmation of Magna Charta.*
- § 3. *Salutary Changes in Law matters.*
- § 4. *Lands.*—1. Entails ; 2. New Manors prohibited ; 3. Mortmain.

 PART VII.—FRENCH WARS.

FRANCE GAINED.

- § 1. *Edward III.*, 1327.—1. Claims the French Crown ; 2. Two Campaigns (the Black Prince, Victories of Creci and Neville's Cross, 1346 ; Victory of Poitiers, 1356 ; Peace of Bretigni, 1360) ; 3. the "Good" Parliament.
- § 2. *Richard III.*, 1377.—1. The French ; 2. The "Merciless" Parliament ; 3. His Deposition.

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

- § 4. *Henry IV.*, 1399.—1. Succession ; 2. Revolts ; 3. Foreign enemies.
- § 5. *Henry V.*, 1413.—1. The Lollards ; 2. Victory at Agincourt, 1415 ; 3. Peace of Troyes, 1420.

FRANCE LOST.

- § 1. *Henry VI. (continued).*—1. Joan of Arc ; 2. Beaufort, Gloucester, and Bedford ; 3. The King's Marriage.
- § 2. *Intrigues of the House of York.*

LEGISLATION.

- § 1. *Development of the Principles of Magna Charta.*—1. Under Edward III. ; 2. Under Henry IV.
- § 2. *Provisions and Præmunires.*

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

- § 1. *Religion.*
- § 2. *Literature.*
- § 3. *The Arts and Sciences.*

 PART VIII.—TYRANNY.

WARS OF THE ROSES.

- § 1. *The House of York.*—1. The Duke of York ; 2. Edward IV. and Edward V. ; 3. Richard III.
- § 2. *Henry VII.*, 1485.—1. Impostors ; 2. Foreign Affairs (the Treaty of Estaples, Ireland, Scotland, Maritime Discoveries) ; 3. Statute of Treasons, &c. ; 4. Revenue.

HENRY VIII.

- § 1. *Government.*—1. First measures ; 2. Firmness and subsequent servility of the Commons.

- § 2. *Foreign Affairs*.—1. France (Battle of the Spurs, 1513 ; Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520 ; Treaty of Crespi, 1544) ; 2. Spain ; 3. Scotland (Flodden Field, 1513 ; Solway Moss, 1542) ; 4. Ireland.
- § 3. *Religion*.—1. Schism (Henry's Divorce—*a*) Refusal of Dispensation, *β*) His Advisers ; Supremacy and Death of Henry ; Edward VI., 1547—*a*) Protectors, *β*) New Doctrines, *γ*) Revolts) ; 2. Return to Catholicity (Mary, 1553—*a*) Her Marriage, *β*) Revolts, and Death of Lady Jane Grey, *γ*) Loss of Calais, 1558, Commerce ; Reconciliation with Rome, 1554) ; 3. Completion of the Reformation (Elizabeth, 1558, Supremacy of the Court of High Commission, Expulsion of the Catholic Clergy).

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

- § 1. *Mary in Scotland*.—1. Elizabeth's Intrigues (in France, in Scotland) ; 2. Mary's Advisers (Murray, Darnley, Rizzio, Bothwell).
- § 2. *Mary in England*.—1. Her Captivity ; 2. her Appeal for Rescue ; 3. Babington's Plot ; 4. her Trial and Death, 1587.
- § 3. *Closing Events of Elizabeth's Reign*.—1. Persecution of Catholics ; 2. Spanish Armada ; 3. her Favourites (Leicester, Burghley, Essex) ; 4. Ireland ; 5. Servility of Parliament.

THE REVOLUTION.

JAMES I.

- § 1. *Religion*.—1. Catholics ; 2. Puritans ; 3. Established Church.
- § 2. *Reviving Spirit of the Commons*.
- § 3. *Buckingham*.

CHARLES I.

- § 1. *Contests with the Commons*.—1. First Parliament ; 2. Second Parliament ; 3. Third Parliament and No Parliament.
- § 2. *Scotland*.—1. Religious Innovations ; 2. Episcopal War.
- § 3. *Civil War, 1642*.—1. Long Parliament, 1640 ; 2. Ireland ; 3. Battles ; 4. Army and Parliament ; 5. Death of Charles, 1649.
- § 4. *Commonwealth*.—1. Changes in the Government ; 2. Scotland, Ireland, and Foreign Affairs ; 3. Cromwell.

CHARLES II.

- § 1. *Interregnum*.—1. Army and Parliament ; 2. Restoration.
- § 2. *Pensioned and other Parliaments*.
- § 3. *Scotland and Ireland*.
- § 4. *Foreign Affairs*.—1. Louis XIV. of France ; 2. Dutch War, 1665—1672 ; 3. Triple Alliance, 1668.
- § 5. *Ministers*.

JAMES II. AND WILLIAM AND MARY.§ 1. *Rebellions.*

§ 2. *Penal Laws.*—1. Dispensed with ; 2. Suspended ; 3. Contests with the Universities and the Bishops.

§ 3. *William of Orange.*—1. Threat and Arrival ; 2. Pretended and Real Designs ; 3. Convention ; 4. Penal Laws.

§ 4. *Deposition of James II.*

For brevity's sake, as has been said, the skeleton forms have been omitted in this sketch, but their utility to the student does not admit of any question ; and when drawn out upon paper large enough to admit of a few manuscript notes, their aid to the memory has been found to be invaluable. It would even be an advantage if every second page of the history were set apart for nothing beyond the skeleton portion corresponding with the text on the adverse page. For with the analysis of the history well impressed on his retina—and through the retina upon his brain—the student would have little difficulty in holding together in his mind all the principal facts and dates. The reader is probably familiar with Dr. Smith's justly popular histories of Greece and Rome. Now, the contents of these are grouped together much after the fashion we have endeavoured to depict, and a framework of both Grecian and Roman history may with great ease be constructed from them. They lack, it is true, everything in the shape of the skeleton forms we have been delineating, but are so admirably drawn up that the student who rejoices but in a modicum of ingenuity will find little difficulty in making these out for himself. The several chapters merely require a little selection and arrangement into parts. For instance, in his "History of Greece," chapters I. II. and III. might very suitably be placed together under the title of Part I., "Preparatory Matter;" chapters IV. V. and VI. under the title of Part II., "Growth of the Grecian States;" chapters VII. VIII. and IX. under the title of Part III., "Peloponnesian War;" chapters X. XI. XII. and XIII. under the title of Part IV., "Persian War;" and so on unto the end. His Abridgment of Hume's History of England is by no means on a par with his classical histories. But no doubt the author was fettered both by being bound down to abridge another's writing rather than originate a more analytical and systematized plan of his own, and by the old traditional mode of communicating English history by an enumeration of the events of each successive reign.

We do not for one moment maintain that the plan here set forth is calculated, or at all able of itself to give an adequate

amount of information upon the almost innumerable points which might claim the general interest or challenge the exclusive attention of the student. The biographies alone of the great men of each generation could be equal to such a task. But without some such framework as that we have laboured to sketch, all the biographies in the world would serve but to bewilder him. Without it these could at their best be but "*dissecta membra*," ribs torn from the backbone. With such a framework, however, well fixed in the mind, all collateral reading, biographical reading in particular, would fall readily and naturally into, fit in, and remain in that very place in the mental picture which would indicate its real position in the world of facts. The whole face of the Past would be distinct with features by which every spot could be indelibly impressed upon the eye of the mind; and once so impressed ever familiar to it. History so studied would not be, as too often it now is, but a heap of facts, of dates, and of kings', queens', and great men's names got off by a rote which seems to have little to do with judgment, and to occupy memory but for a very insignificant period. True it is that our skeleton forms are but, as the very term implies, the dry bones of history; but they are the bones to which a little subsequent reading can impart flesh and substance replete with life and beauty.

Nor is it pretended that the plan herein set forth is the best that can be hit upon, or that it is in any way so perfect as to exclude a system constructed from the experience and by the labour of another. Nothing would please us better than to have been but indirect agents in bringing into existence so great a desideratum. At the same time, an apology is perhaps due for having dwelt upon a topic more adapted for the college class than for the general reading public. Of all departments of literature, however, to scarcely one can "*sera nunquam*," &c., be more appropriately applied than to history. And if one's youthful years, years wherein the intellect was keen and the memory good, have had to labour hard and take, or at best retain, nothing for all their pains, a few months' careful attention to some such method as that we have sketched may even yet prepare the way for much useful, instructive and pleasurable reading for the years to come. While those whose heads still have in them some relics of the huge mass of facts which once was stowed so injudiciously therein, will not fail to find themselves especially benefited by the loose materials they have already in store being reduced to some degree of order and classification.

A manual of English history well adapted for more advanced

students, such as those who are preparing for matriculation or degree examinations, is not, as far as we are aware, to be met with in Protestant colleges any more than in our own. Professor (now Sir Edward) Creasy was engaged upon one some years back, which Messrs. Walton & Maberley, publishers to the London University, had agreed to bring out. The cares of a judicial residence in Ceylon, however, seem to have retarded, not to say hindered altogether, the completion of the work. His "Fifteen Decisive Battles" prove him to be an agreeable and instructive writer; but whether his history would have been a thoroughly good *working* book, and not simply a pleasing narrative in the old style and upon the old system, we cannot pretend to do more than suspect. Unfortunately, his "History of the British Constitution," a useful and in other respects very admirable work, contains passages as untrue and as bigoted as some of the worst pages of Keightley. And as his publishers, to our own knowledge, refused even to suggest to him that his "History of England," being written expressly with an eye to aid the students of a mixed university, should keep especially clear of religious questions, it is perhaps not to be regretted that other pursuits have engrossed his attention; for after all, it is without doubt incalculably better that history should be but imperfectly known, than that a host of ably classified untruths—untruths, too, with respect to subjects the dearest to the heart of man—should become part and parcel of the intellectual food of the Catholic student.

Such being the present state of English history teaching, so far as text-books are concerned in the work, it certainly does not seem hazardous to predict that a new manual, drawn up upon at least some better plan than any of its predecessors can boast of, would, in addition to being of great intellectual benefit to the rising generation, be in no danger of exposing its publisher to anything in the shape of pecuniary embarrassment. Let the writer of such a work but keep steadily before him what Creasy, in his "British Constitution" (p. 8), says—that the proper method of studying history is to take a few grand facts as bases; or what Schlegel, in his "Philosophy of History" (p. 11), says, though speaking upon history in a higher and wider sense than we have ventured to touch upon—that the attention should be fixed on the main subject, and not be distracted or dissipated by a number of minute details; and so arrange and construct his book that if minute details must find their way in, they may at least be kept to their proper place in the general text, and not clog and confuse the outline which should be prefixed or affixed to the volume, and might, as has been already observed, with great advantage be

made to run alongside each page of it. Let his style be simple and equal; let him leave to subsequent reading lengthened descriptions of battles and campaigns and the interesting minutiae of the lives and characters of historical personages, and consign to the much maligned philosophers of history the task of connecting events with causes, and the fortunes of a country with the *ἥθος* of its people or the geographical position of its territory. Let him make use of a sound knowledge of historical facts of minor importance merely to enable himself to weave together the grand facts, which should stand out in his original plan prominent enough to ensure the notice of the reader, in a narrative at once intelligible and replete with information, and the much-needed text-book would no longer be a desideratum.

ART. VII.—DOCTOR PUSEY'S LECTURES ON DANIEL.

1. *Daniel the Prophet*. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, with copious Notes. By E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford: Parker. 1864.
2. *The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel and other portions of Holy Scripture, with a correction of profane and an adjustment of sacred chronology*. By W. R. A. BOYLE, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister. London: Rurston. 1863.
3. *Fulfilled Prophecy a proof of the truth of Revealed Religion*. Being the Warburtonian Lectures of 1854—1858, with an Appendix of Notes, including a full investigation of Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. By the Very Rev. W. GOODE, D.D., Dean of Ripon. London: Hatchard. 1863.

WE expected from Dr. Pusey's work a most important addition to solid Scriptural criticism; but our expectation has been much more than fulfilled. Not only is it the work of a mind hugely stored with learning, and especially with learning upon the particular subject which he here discusses, but, above all, the whole tone of the book, the posture of mind in which the subject is approached is absolutely different, we may say opposite, to that of an ordinary Protestant critic. But let us hear him speak for himself:—

This has been for some thirty years a deep conviction of my soul, that no book can be written in behalf of the Bible like the Bible itself. Man's defences are man's word; they may help to beat off attacks, they may draw out some portion of its meaning. The Bible is God's word; and through it

God the Holy Ghost, Who spake it, speaks to the soul which closes not itself against it.

But if defences are weak, except so far as God enables us to build them, or Himself "builds the house" through man, defences not built as He would have them, will not only fall, but will crush those who trust them. The faith can receive no real injury except from its defenders. Against its assailants, those who wish to be safe, God protects. If the faith shall be (God forbid) destroyed in England, it will be not by open assailants (such as the writers in the *Westminster Review*, &c.), but by those who think they defend it, while they have themselves lost it. So it was in Germany. Rationalism was the product, not of the attacks on the Gospel, but of its weak defenders. Each generation, in its controversies with unbelief, conceded more of the faith, until at last it was difficult to see what difference there was between assailants and defenders. Theology was one great graveyard, and men were disputing over a corpse, as if it had life. The salt had "lost its savour." The life was fled (p. xxv.).

It is his freedom from this wretched spirit which, with few if any exceptions, pervades the works of Protestant defenders of Revelation, which makes Dr. Pusey's work a pleasant study, and theirs a revolting task. It is literally a prodigy of learning of all sorts, sacred and profane. It is a mystery how one short life can have sufficed to gather so much, and one memory to store it up. One is ashamed to complain of some little defect in "lucid order" or arrangement in a book, a few pages of which, properly digested and illustrated, may (and we suppose will) furnish materials for a striking and telling volume.* But, after all, this is little compared with the tone of the whole volume. It is impossible not to feel that, as far as the author himself is concerned, he needed no argument as to the authority of "Daniel the Prophet" beyond this, that his words

* It is a pity that such a storehouse of sound learning should not be made more accessible by a good index. This would be specially useful with regard to the notes. They contain a varied mass of scriptural interpretation, which cannot fail to be most useful to those who are not obliged to examine objections against the authenticity of Scripture, and who having never been assailed by them, do not care to read even the answers to them. Nor are these in any degree limited to the prophet Daniel, or even to the prophetic writings. Open the book anywhere, and you are sure to come upon something of this kind; e.g., page 252 is an explanation of the dying prophecy of the patriarch Jacob. In page 325 are collected the internal marks which prove the book of Ecclesiastes to have been written by Solomon. A few pages earlier we have a most learned and interesting analysis of the Psalter, showing which of the Psalms were written by David, which later, and at what periods these must have been written. An index of passages explained and illustrated, such as is annexed to the Benedictine edition of the Holy Father, would make this volume exceedingly useful as a commentary.

were quoted as authority by his Lord and Saviour ; and that, let sophists and objectors say what they may, that Lord and Saviour must needs be true, even if every man is a liar. He finds himself compelled to answer objections, not for his own satisfaction, but, as he says,

As his own contribution against that tide of scepticism which the publication of the "Essays and Reviews" let loose upon the young and uninstructed. Not that those essays contained anything formidable in themselves, they contained nothing to which the older of us had not been inured for some forty years. Their writers asserted little distinctly, attempted to prove less, but threw doubts on everything. They took for granted that the ancient faith had been overthrown, and their Essays were mostly a long trumpet-note of victories, won (they assumed) without any cost to *them* over the faith, in Germany. They ignore the fact that every deeper tendency of thought, or each more solid learning, had at least done away with something shallow something more adverse to faith. They practically ignored all criticism which was not subservient to unbelief (p. 1).

And then, as Dr. Pusey shows, adopting thus the conclusions of German unbelievers, taking care not to mention, if, indeed, they had ever taken the trouble to read, the clear and conclusive proofs by which every argument in support of those conclusions had been shattered, not only by believers, but by later infidels themselves (who, even while agreeing in unbelief with those who went before them, felt themselves obliged to condemn all the arguments by which that unbelief had been defended, and to forge new ones, equally sure to be abandoned as idle by those who came after them *), these men have thrown out the blasphemous conclusions of the infidels of the Continent, as if they were certain and unquestionable, putting them into the hands of the ignorant and the young, who know nothing of the arguments by which they have been refuted, as if there was nothing to say against them, and yet taking care all the while to avoid making themselves responsible to the law, by hinting rather than openly declaring that they themselves accept the statements which they retail. Such men, as far as this world is concerned, may clearly adopt the reverse of the chivalrous sentiment of a vanquished warrior; they may well boast "nothing is lost except our honour," for they retain their benefices and endowments, their social

* Of this Dr. Pusey gives numerous instances in many parts of his volume, showing how the rationalistic writers of Germany in our own generation have found themselves compelled to abandon all that had been urged by their predecessors as utterly untenable, even although they refuse to give up their conclusions.

position, nay, their hopes of preferment. They even manage to put themselves before the world in the position of martyrs, by appearing as defendants in the ecclesiastical courts of the Establishment, while they have all the while the pleasure of feeling that many a young man is now a reviler of all revelation who, but for them, would have fulfilled the hopes of his parents by growing up after the old English model of respectability, receiving all those portions of Catholic truth which Anglican writers in general have agreed to preserve, and yet keeping himself even more scrupulously from Popery than from infidelity itself.

It is unreasonable to demand that such a person as Dr. Pusey should abstain from all expressions of indignation in dealing with men such as these. He is naturally impatient of the necessity of such an argument. He desires to worship rather than defend. And yet, having for some forty years past lived chiefly in the society of the inspired Hebrew writers, and having, as he says, "made himself acquainted with Rationalism as a duty," while "God in His goodness preserved him" from feeling "any temptation" towards it, he deeply feels that those who are importing poison from Germany for general distribution in England are not only very profane, but specially shallow and superficial. He finds nothing but what, to his certain knowledge, has long ago been not only refuted, but abandoned as untenable by its defenders. And yet it has been made a subject of reproach, that in refuting these long-worn-out impieties, Dr. Pusey does not always conceal an indignation which is not only natural but virtuous. This charge has been urged by a man at once amiable, learned, eloquent, and able—the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Stanley. We have spoken of this controversy in an earlier article (see p. 160); but we will here consider it at somewhat greater length. Bull complains that Erasmus, while himself maintaining the Divinity of Our Blessed Lord, seemed always to be attracted, as if by some fatal sympathy, towards the interpretations and arguments of the Socinian school. Dr. Stanley continually reminds us of this. He is by no means a consistent rationalist. Dr. Pusey, for instance, shows in this very volume* that he believes Balaam to have predicted things to come. If he really means this, all a *a priori* objection to prophecy is over, for this is emphatically a case in which the first step involves the whole difficulty. If one man has once prophesied by Divine inspiration, things beyond human foresight, there is no conceivable reason why others may not have done

* See p. 235, note.

the same ; and yet, strange to say, Dr. Stanley seems eagerly to catch at any interpretation, however forced, which even professes to explain away any particular prediction of an inspired prophet, as referring to events "within the horizon of human hopes and fears." He seems specially attracted to any statement which offends the instincts of Christians. He sees "amongst the safeguards" of the Old Testament, the "errors and defects" which Dr. Colenso attributes to it. With regard to the Book of Daniel, he speaks of "innocent questions about its date." No wonder he is shocked at the expressions of indignation which escape from Dr. Pusey : and in language characteristically courteous, compares the book before us with those of Professor Jowett, drawing from the difference of tone an omen of the ultimate victory of those whom Dr. Pusey opposes. In plain fact, however, there is no possibility of comparing a man who is discussing a mere literary question, to a man who is defending from wanton and outrageous insult one whom he intimately knows, and loves above all things. There are men who profess that to them Daniel and Isaias are no more than Homer and Hesiod ; and S. John and S. Paul no more than Tacitus and Seneca. What merit then can they reasonably claim for discussing the date of the Book of Daniel as calmly as that of the *Iliad* ? No doubt any man of sensibility would feel his pleasure in the *Iliad* lessened, if it were possible to prove that it was really written in the time of Pisistratus, and passed off by a literary fraud, upon the ancient poet whose name it bears. And yet it would make no very great practical difference. The genius of the author would be even more strikingly proved. The innate beauty and poetry of his work would be the same. How different is the effect of what Dean Stanley calls "innocent doubts" about the date of the Book of Daniel ! Christians believe, and have believed for 1800 years, that it was written in the court of the King of Babylon, near six hundred years before the incarnation of our Lord, by a captive of the royal blood of David ; who, carried away in his youth from the holy city, lived to old age, and attained to the highest political rank in a heathen court. He records the most wonderful miracles, some of which happened to himself, others to his intimate friends and companions ; stupendous visions which he saw with his own eyes ; and prophecies which he received from God by the ministry of angels. Moreover all this is far from being a mere wonder, which we may believe or disbelieve without any change in our practical position and its duties. For, to say nothing else, one most important prediction, actually recorded in this book, is expressly quoted by our Blessed Lord himself, as a prophecy,

the fulfilment of which was to take place in the lifetime of His Apostles, and as having been given by Daniel.

By all Christians these things have always been received as certain. A heathen philosopher, Porphyry, three hundred years after the incarnation, and nearly nine hundred after Daniel, first maintained that the whole book was a forgery; that its real writer lived 160 years B.C.; that he invented the whole of the miracles which he professed to have witnessed and the prophecies which he professed to have received from God. These last, he said, were in fact histories, written after the events which they professed to predict. The object of the writer, he said, was political. He desired to encourage the Jews who, in his own time, were engaged in a death struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria: and this he saw could be done by a pretended prophecy, palmed off upon them as the work of an ancient saint of the nation, and predicting the happy result of the war, better than by anything he could write in his own name. We are not, at this moment, saying anything of the utter absurdity of this theory. At present we deal only with all its hateful profaneness. Dr. Pusey truly says,

The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies that were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the Name of God. The more God, as we shall see, is the centre of the whole, the more directly would the falsehood come into relation to God. The book truly ascribes to God that He gave wisdom to Daniel to interpret the visions of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar; that He delivered the children from the burning fiery furnace, and Daniel from the den of lions; that He revealed to Daniel things to come, the largest and the least, comprising successions of Empires and Christ's Kingdom, with some exact dates and minute details. The miracles it implies; the prophecies it avers to have been recorded by Daniel, a contemporary. Either, then, we have true miracles and true prophecies, or we should have nothing but untruth (pp. 1, 2).

It is important to observe this, because, unquestionably, there are books of Scripture (as, for instance, that of Job) concerning which men may doubt, and have doubted, who were their authors, without denying their truth or their sacred character. With regard to the Book of Daniel, Christians believe it to have been written by himself under Divine inspiration. Porphyry, followed by certain infidel and rationalistic writers in Germany, have maintained that it was an impious forgery. No other opinion is possible, except, indeed, that some of the late imitators of Porphyry have defended

the forgery while they do not deny it—that is, they assert that the supposed forger deliberately lied in the Name of God, but they can see no reason why a man should not do so.

What, therefore, the Dean of Westminster considers an “innocent question” is concerning a man who has been revered as an inspired prophet by the whole Jewish Church for six hundred, and by the whole Christian Church for eighteen hundred, years, and who was expressly and solemnly recognized as such by our Blessed Lord Himself. And the question is, whether he really was such a prophet, or whether the writings spoken of as true prophecies by our Blessed Lord Himself, and received as such by all believers, were, in fact, impious forgeries.

The answer of the rationalistic school to all this is highly characteristic. It consists in a grand flourish of trumpets in honour of the enormous advance of “modern criticism”—*i.e.*, of themselves. They say, almost in plain and direct terms: “We would fain be merciful even to the weakest; we really have no wish to give needless pain, even to those who still cling to bygone superstitions. But the first claim upon us is that of ‘modern criticism.’ That is the real Lord and Master of Heaven and Earth. By its rules everything must be tried, and either established or swept away; nothing must be spared, unless it will bear that trial; and as for those whose hearts are bound up in an antiquated belief, whether in the Church, or the Creeds, or the Scripture—well, we are very sorry to give them pain, but they really must make up their minds, as well as they can, to see their idols beaten to dust and blown away as rubbish by the mighty wings of modern criticism.” Thus Baron Bunsen writes—“It is one of the greatest triumphs of modern criticism to have proved that the Book of Daniel is a production of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.” Nay, words but too similar have been left behind him by one towards whose memory we feel a tenderness which Bunsen does not call forth; for if the truth must be spoken, Bunsen was nothing more or less than a prig. There was excuse for him, for (as Sir Walter Scott says of Reuben Butler) “the man was mortal, and had been a school-master.” But excuse it as you may, under the robes of the baron and the ambassador, you were sure to come at last to the prig. An observer, equally keen of sight and kindly of heart, who knew Oxford well, and was at Rome in the days of the Prussian minister’s glory, used to say, “Till I saw the Chevalier Bunsen I never knew that a real Don could flourish out of Oxford.” That such a man should boast over the fall of the prophet in the lists before the steed and spear of “modern

criticism," *i.e.*, his own, was no great wonder. But it is sad that Dr. Arnold, a man far more genuine and simple, but who, unfortunately, regarded Bunsen with superstitious reverence, has left behind him at least some words which imply that he too was ready to accept the same conclusion. Bunsen had at least the excuse, that in his day a German could hardly set up for a critic without adopting such language. To be a very Narcissus, worshipping in his fellow critics the reflection of his own critical skill, was the test required of each new aspirant to the honours of German literature, as the grain of incense thrown upon the altar of Jupiter was the test of loyalty to the Roman empire. Dr. Pusey gives many instances of this self-glorification, which would be amusing anywhere, and are really a relief to those who feel it to be a duty to study the works of what he well styles the "self-laudatory school." Foolish as are their praises of themselves, they are a very agreeable change from the profaneness which makes up the rest of their books. They are at least less offensive when they are worshipping themselves than when they are blaspheming their Creator.

All this unbounded triumph would have been accounted for by Pascal, on the principle, that bad authors, whom no one else admires, are allowed by Providence to feel an unlimited admiration of themselves, by way of compensation, in order that they may not be wholly without admirers. For the criticisms which have been urged against the Book of Daniel, and, indeed, against other parts of Holy Scripture, have been either the superficial criticisms of men who knew little of the languages they were discussing, and as such are now abandoned even by unbelievers, who find it necessary to seek new premises for the same conclusions; or else, and more frequently, they had really nothing to do with criticism at all. Dr. Pusey very excellently points out this last fact in a number of instances. Criticism applied to test the genuineness of any professedly ancient work, will of course examine the external and internal evidences of its age. External evidence will be such as this—that the existing manuscripts are of such an age and character, that they are to be found in such and such countries. Thus, a work of which a manuscript should be found in the ruins of Pompeii must at least be as ancient as the last half of the first century. This is evident to all men; but criticism is more necessary in comparing the existing manuscripts together, and arranging them into families, by which the critic may infer, with considerable certainty, the age not only of the manuscript before him, but of that from which it was copied. He has to enter upon many

kindred questions which we need not enumerate. Moreover, he must examine by what ancient authors the work is quoted, (either professedly or tacitly) or imitated, or referred to. Passing to internal evidences of genuineness, there is of course a large class which is the direct and immediate object of criticism, such as the language itself in which the book is written, the use of languages, idioms, grammatical constructions, or orthography, which were not in use perhaps before, perhaps after a certain date, or which were confined to certain countries. To fix the date of any ancient work by evidence like this is purely and simply the office of criticism, and in many cases it is done with wonderful precision.

The real question is, not only whether the pretended demolition of the Book of Daniel, of which, for instance, Baron Bunsen boasts, has really been effected; but also whether those who have attempted its destruction have, in this respect, been acting as critics at all.

And Dr. Pusey proves beyond all controversy, first, that critical objections (whether sound or unsound) are not the real grounds upon which men have ever denied the authenticity of this Book; next, that although after rejecting it upon grounds which had nothing to do with criticism, they have gone on to support and justify their foregone conclusion by critical arguments; yet that these arguments are utterly without weight; that they have over and over again been refuted; and that it is hardly possible to find two men who allege the same grounds for rejecting it. Of those who agree in the conclusion, each denies the force of the arguments by which the others would establish it.

We need not say that men may very often and very justly accept or reject writings without any critical examination of them. All men are not qualified to be critics; neither are all who could qualify themselves bound to do so. There are many instances in which authority or testimony precludes the necessity of any critical examination. If ten men of unquestionable honour and veracity, and without any interest in committing a fraud, were to depose on oath that they saw a particular will executed by a man now dead, and that since its execution it had never been out of their hands, there is no court in Europe which would not refuse to enter into any critical arguments to prove that it could not really have been executed by him, although, should it be necessary, many internal marks of its authenticity might easily be found. The same principle applies to the most sacred questions. In the case before us, Dr. Pusey most truly says, that although he supports his belief in the authenticity of the Book of Daniel

by critical arguments, and although others justify their rejection of it by critical arguments, yet it was not by criticism that he was convinced of its authority, or they of its want of authority. Both he and they really came to their conclusions upon first principles, apart from criticism. His was, that our Lord Jesus Christ can neither lie nor be deceived; theirs, that prophecy and miracle are impossible. His first principle is true and theirs false; but that is not our present point. Thus far, at least, both are alike, that the real grounds of their opinion were not critical.

For what are the real grounds upon which the Book of Daniel is rejected, whether by Porphyry of old, by the German rationalists of the last hundred years, or by those English writers who are now cheaply gaining a reputation by introducing their conclusions to our own country? They are simply, that the events of Jewish history between B.C. 550 and B.C. 163 (*i.e.*, from the death of Nabucodonozor to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes) are so clearly described, that it is absurd to suppose the book to have been written before the latter date; and next that the book records miracles so stupendous, that they must be legends written long after the time at which they are said to have happened. In other words, the book is rejected because there is no alternative between rejecting it and admitting the supernatural. This argument Christians know to be profane; unbelievers may call it reasonable; but thus far they must agree, if they know the meaning of words, *viz.*, that to call it criticism (whether good or bad) is as absurd as to call it burglary or highway robbery.

That this first principle—*viz.*, that nothing supernatural really happens—is the real ground of objection to the Book of Daniel is clear, first by the direct statement of most of those who have assailed it. Dr. Pusey gives many instances of this, both with respect to this particular book and to other books of Holy Scripture.

It is well to have so clear an issue before us. Porphyry, in the well-known attack upon Daniel in his work "against the Christians," saw how direct the issue was between him and the Christians. "Daniel," says S. Jerome, "not only writes that Christ should come, as do the other prophets, but also teaches at what time He should come, and arranges the kings in order, and numbers the years, and announces the most evident signs. Porphyry then, seeing all these things to have been fulfilled, and unable to deny that they had taken place, had recourse to this calumny. On the ground of a partial resemblance, he contended that those things which Daniel foretold as to Antichrist at the end of the world, had been fulfilled under Antiochus Epiphanes. But his assault is a testimony to the truth. For so

accurate were the words of the prophet, that to unbelieving men he seemed not to have foretold the future, but to relate the past." A modern school, which has disbelieved with Porphyry has echoed Porphyry. Out of some remaining respect for Holy Scriptures or for Christian belief, it evaded the question of the truth and falsehood of Scripture where it could, consistently with the maintenance of its unbelief. If it could generalize a prophecy so that it should not seem a prophecy, it did so. It adopted non-natural interpretations of prophecy, and so admitted the works which contained it. It objected not to admit the author if it need not admit the prophet. Hence arose all those modern interpretations of prophecy, as relating to Hezekiah, Zerubbabel, and the like. If a prophecy like those more definite prophecies of Daniel, admitted of no wresting, there was no choice left, except to acknowledge prophecy, or to deny the genuineness of the book. Of course, other grounds must be found to veil the nakedness of unbelief; but it is manifest, from the writers themselves, that the central argument is this:—"Almighty God does not or cannot work miracles or reveal the future to His creatures. Therefore, since miracles and prophecy are impossible, a book which contains an account of miracles must be written long after the alleged miracles are related to have been worked; a book containing predictions beyond the unaided sagacity of man must have been written after the events which are predicted." This is laid down broadly by that class of writers; it underlies every so-called critical argument used by them; it crops out continually where it does not, as with avowed unbelievers, stand in the forefront. Four or five idioms are found, a poetical form, which happens also to be Aramaic, and then follows some such statement as this:—"Besides, had Isaiah written this, it would imply a knowledge of the future." And it is obvious, all the while, that the real ground lies, not in those half-dozen idioms, to which no one who has any idiomatic knowledge of Hebrew would attach any weight, but upon the ground that the chapter of the prophet contains, if his, undeniable prophecy. It has even been laid down as a test of the date of the books of Holy Scripture, "Wherever, in the Hebrew Scriptures, there are numerous myths and legends [*i.e.*, miracles], as in the history of the patriarchs, of Moses, Balaam, Samson, Elijah, there we have uniformly relations not committed to history until long after the events. Where, on the contrary, the facts appear natural, as in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Maccabees, there the relation, although not always, is contemporaneous with, or shortly subsequent to, the events. This is an historical axiom of unquestionable validity. Hence it follows that not Daniel, but only a writer long subsequent, can be the author of the relation, and so of the book before us."—(pp. 4 to 6).

Dr. Pusey gives a good many more extracts from different writers, mostly German, but one English, to the same effect.

He adds:—

Such statements, however often they occur in books of unbelieving criticism, plainly have nothing to do with criticism or historical inquiry. They assume in each case the whole question about which criticism can be engaged.

If any of us, on our side, say, "Our Lord, being God, and having a Divine knowledge, pronounced Daniel to be a prophet, and quoted words of his as prophetic, and as still to be fulfilled," we *do* thereby mean to close up the question of criticism. On grounds, extrinsic to the Book of Daniel, we believe critical inquiry to be superseded by Divine authority. We feel satisfied, of course, that there can be no real grounds of criticism contradictory to that Divine authority; and, in fact, the deeper any critical knowledge is, the more subservient it is to that authority. But we do not pretend that this antecedent certainty of ours belongs to the province of criticism. As little plainly does the opposite denial of the abstract possibility of prophecy. Those who use the argument call themselves "unprejudiced," simply because they are free from what they call *our* prejudices. But, of course, one who lays down that such a book cannot have been written at a given time, *because*, in that case, it would contain definite predictions of the future, as much prejudices the question, on the ground of his antecedent anti-doctrinal prejudices, as he can allege of us, that we decide in on our doctrinal prejudices—*i.e.*, on our previous belief. His major premiss is, "Since there cannot be either prophecy or miracle, a book claiming to contain definite prophecies or a contemporary amount of unmistakable miracles cannot belong to the period to which it is ascribed;" his minor is, "The Book of Daniel does make such claims." Our major is, "Whatever Jesus has said is true;" or minor is, "He has said that Daniel is a prophet." This whole ground on either side is antecedent to criticism. *Their* denial of the possibility of miracles and prophecy denies, in fact, to our Creator powers which we possess ourselves, of regulating our own work, or communicating to others, beforehand, our own designs. It has its source in utter ignorance of God, and is to be remedied by a knowledge of Him and of ourselves, of our Creator and His creatures (p. 7).

That this really is the ground on which the authentic character of the Book of Daniel is denied, appears, also, from the fact that they fix upon the year 163 B.C.—*i.e.*, that of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, as that before which the book cannot have been written. Why this particular time? The critical objections, such as they are, might pretend to fix it considerably later than the time of Nabucodonozor, but there is in them literally nothing to suggest that it was written at that particular date. For this there is, in fact, one only reason—namely, that the events of the later years of Antiochus Epiphanes are so clearly predicted that objectors say this must needs be history, and history written soon after the event—*i.e.*, "we must fix the date of the work at that time, or we should be compelled to admit that it was a prophecy." No man that ever lived has suggested for it any other date, except, on the one hand, that at which it was actually written, *i.e.*, the time of Nebucodonozor and Cyrus, or else that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

In fact, it is for this reason only that the Book of Daniel is

specially selected from among the other prophets as the one whose antiquity must be denied. There are others against which it would be much easier to make out, so to say, a plausible case. But if the Book of Daniel is once admitted to have been the work of the man whose name it bears, then it is an uncontestable prophecy, and it contains the record of most stupendous miracles written and published by an eye-witness in the midst of a generation every member of which must have been able to convict him of falsehood if he had invented or exaggerated them. Hence, the genuineness of the book of Daniel is denied, while others, which it would be quite as easy to dispute on plausible grounds, are left unquestioned. If it had been possible to admit the book to have been written by Daniel without admitting prophecy and miracles, it is absolutely certain that his authorship would never have been questioned; for there are few, if any, works anything like so ancient, the proofs of which are equally certain.

To answer objections in detail under these circumstances is unsatisfactory work, because all parties know beforehand that if every critical objection can be so completely answered as to consign it for ever to silence, the effect will be, only that other objections must be invented to support a foregone conclusion, not that the true date will be admitted. And he must know little of such matters who is not aware that there never was any history written among men, with regard to which an ingenious man cannot raise at least some plausible doubts. This was very curiously illustrated by Dr. Whately, in the earliest of his writings, a short and very clever pamphlet, entitled "Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte," in which he collects a number of reasons for denying that Napoleon ever really existed. How easy the task must be when the book criticised is 2,500 years old, we need not suggest.

Dr. Pusey leaves to some "coming man" the refutation of these future objections when they have been devised, contenting himself with demolishing those which have hitherto been built up. The volume contains nine lectures. The first meets the objections drawn from the language of the book of Daniel. All the world knows that it is written partly in Hebrew, partly in Chaldee. It was formerly the favourite position of objectors that these parts were the work of different authors. "No one doubts now that the book of Daniel is one whole;" the most infidel writers "admit the unity of the book just as fully as those who believe its divinity."

Next "in the ignorance of general philology at the close

of the last century," it was the fashion to say, that the book was full of Greek words; the obvious object being to prove that it was written in the time of Alexander's successors. This, too, is now given up; the only words which are now believed to be Greek (even by those who deny the genuineness of the book) are the names of one or two musical instruments. If the origin of these names be Greek (which is probable), nothing could be more natural than that the name should have been carried into the East with the thing. Babylon was the richest and most luxurious capital in the world. Its people were lovers of music, and of foreign music. They saddened the hearts of the Jewish captives by requiring them to "sing the songs of Zion" in the "strange land" of their captivity. The Greeks were, from the very earliest times of which we have any record, an essentially migratory people. An exquisite taste for the fine arts was always their most striking characteristic. At a later period, we find Greek women the favourites of Asiatic Kings, and Greek artists tempted to distant courts (Zen. *Anabasis*, lib. i., c. 9), it would be truly marvellous if nothing of the kind had happened at Babylon.

Lecture II. is on the prophecy of the four Empires, and of the kingdom of Christ to be established in the midst of the fourth, and of the Antichrist, who, though imperfectly foreshadowed by Antiochus, is yet to come. Lecture III. answers the modern attempts to make out four Empires, without counting among them that of Rome. The object of these attempts is plain. To place the writer of the book of Daniel later than the time of Epiphanes is, for many reasons, impossible. If, therefore, he described the Roman Empire, we shall still have a prophecy. Hence while he is to be brought down above 400 years, in order that his account of those years may be represented as a history lyingly pretending to be a prophecy; all the prophecies of later times must, somehow or other, be interpreted as merely descriptive of events which happened earlier.

The fifth lecture shows, that "the minuteness of a portion of Daniel's prophecies, is in harmony with the whole system of Old Testament prophecy; in that God, throughout, gave a nearer foreground of prophecy, whose completion should, to each age, accredit the more distant and, as yet, unfulfilled prophecies." This lecture contains a masterly analysis of the older prophecies mentioned or contained in Scripture; particularly those uttered by the Patriarch Jacob, and by Moses, before their deaths: of the habitual "asking counsel of the Lord" through the priests; the "seers" (1 Kings ix. 9), &c.

Lecture VI. is "on the proof of the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, furnished by the closing of the canon of the Old

Testament, and by the direct references to it in the canonical Scriptures, and in other books before, or of the Maccabean period." In this chapter the author does not say anything as to the reasons which have led Protestants to reject those Books of the Old Testament Scriptures, which were not included in the Jewish canon, but have been received by the Christian Church. His object was only to show that according to the judgment of the Jews, the canon was closed long before the time at which Rationalists desire to fix the writing of the Book of Daniel. Now, as that book was notoriously included in it, this of itself suffices to prove, that the book was really written at the time at which Christians date it; else it would, like other books of very high authority and merit, have been excluded by the Jews from their canon, on account of its late date, if for no other reason. This is the author's argument. He says:—

No ground can be alleged why a Hebrew work written in Palestine, of such character as the "Wisdom of Sirach" (*i.e.* Ecclesiasticus), so praised, so approved, so full of wisdom, should not have been received into the canon [*i.e.*, by the Jews], but either that inspired authority was then lacking to receive it, or that its author had not the same tokens of Divine authority as the writers of the Old Testament, or both.

From these words we infer, that although Dr. Pusey does not choose to enter into a controversy against the mass of the members of his own communion (to which he was in no way led by his subject), yet he is well aware, that the books of Scripture which Protestants are pleased to call "Apocryphal," and which have for many years past been omitted from all except extraordinarily expensive editions, were added to the Jewish canon, by the authority of the Christian Church, guided by the Holy Spirit; and were received as such in the earlier days of the Protestant Church in England. They have since been rejected, not by any recognized Anglican ecclesiastical authority, but by the growing Protestant temper of the body. At the present day, when Anglicans are (justly) condemning the Rationalists of their own communion from rejecting the authority of other scriptural books, they ought to be prepared to show upon what grounds they reject these.

This lecture contains, especially in the notes, a vast mass of learning on the subject of the different books of the Old Testament, their date, and also with regard to the "Book of Enoch," the third Sibylline book, &c.

The seventh lecture is "on the historical inaccuracies falsely imputed to the Book of Daniel, and the improbabilities alleged." It was one of the especial objections of unbelievers

that the account given by Daniel of the name, history, and fate of the last king of Babylon, is inconsistent with the history as given by every ancient historian, Berosus, Herodotus, &c. According to them, the king (who is called by Berosus Nabonidus, by Herodotus Labynetus) took the field against Cyrus, was "defeated, and shut himself up in Borsippa, where he was taken after the capture of Babylon." Daniel calls the king Baltassar, and describes him as remaining in Babylon, where he was killed on the night on which it was taken. This was indeed a proud triumph for the Rationalists, and so it continued till ten years ago, when some of those inscribed clay cylinders which many of our readers have seen in the British Museum, being deciphered (some by Sir H. Rawlinson, in England; some almost at the same moment by Oppert, in Lower Chaldea) proved by evidence strictly contemporary that Baltassar was the son of Nabonidus, was associated in the kingdom by him, and was killed in the taking of Babylon. It is exceedingly remarkable that since this discovery the only change in the tactics of the rationalist writers is, that they say nothing about this particular objection, which twelve years ago was one of their strong points. Now it seems hardly necessary to observe that this discovery not merely overthrows the argument against the real date of the Book of Daniel derived from his mention of Baltassar, but gives an overpowering argument in support of it. For how stands the case. None of the histories accessible to an Alexandrian Jew in the second century B.C. made any mention of Baltassar. They all gave a name and a history quite different to the last king of Babylon. Now if the Book of Daniel had really been forged, as the rationalists pretend, by an Alexandrian Jew, in the second century B.C., it is certain that he would have made his account of the fall of Babylon agree with the existing histories—that is, he would have said nothing of Baltassar, but have mentioned only Nabonidus. Nay, if he had wished to invent a different history, he would have had no knowledge of the very name of Baltassar, and must have invented some other. Our most recent discoveries prove that Daniel's history was correct exactly on the point about which he himself could not possibly be ignorant, and about which the imaginary forger four centuries later could not possibly have been informed. It is certain that this, if it stood alone, would have been considered a conclusive proof of the genuine character of Daniel's book, if that book had not been religious, miraculous, and prophetic.

We do not remember that Dr. Pusey mentions the circum-

stance that in the all-but kingly honours paid to Daniel by Baltshassar he was made "the third man in the kingdom." Why not be second? Obviously because Baltshassar himself was only the second, being, as it now appears, associated with his father in the kingdom. That he was so, is now known as an historical fact, but it was a fact utterly unknown almost from his own time until within the last ten years, and Daniel's narrative is the more remarkable, because he does not state it, but only implies it as something known to all his readers.

The two last lectures are on "the points of doctrine and practice mentioned in the Book of Daniel, which are alleged to indicate a date later than that of the prophet, showing that they are identical or in harmony with the other Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and that no doctrine or practice mentioned in the Book of Daniel was borrowed [as objectors have alleged] from Parsism." This chapter contains a mass of most interesting matter on the indications of the divinity of the Messias, and of the resurrection of the body, and of judgment to come, in the Old Testament. But our space forbids us to enter upon these subjects.

We heartily hope that a second edition of this valuable work will speedily be required, and that it will not appear without an index.

We have left ourselves only room to mention the two other works at the head of this article. That of Mr. Boyle is highly honourable to him, especially as a layman and a barrister. It is written in an excellent spirit, with much learning and talent. It was published before the appearance of Dr. Pusey's volume, and we believe was more valuable as an account of the Prophet Daniel, and as an answer to the objections against him, than any other work then accessible.

Dean Goode's work is of a different character. He seems, indeed, to have felt that some apology was needed for the nonsense which he has written in one of his chapters, and pleads the terms of the founder's will. *Valeat quantum*. But our article hitherto has been occupied with the agreeable task of expressing sympathy and admiration for non-Catholic writers; and we gladly persuade ourselves that we are under no obligation of entering on a less pleasant duty, and criticizing this part of Dean Goode's book as it deserves.

ART. VIII.—THE MEXICAN EMPIRE AND THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION.

Le Mexique Ancien et Moderne. Par MICHEL CHEVALIER, Membre de l'Institut. Paris : Hachette.

La Politique Française en Amérique. Par M. HENRI MOREAU. Paris : Dentu.

L'Expédition du Mexique. Par Le Prince HENRI DE VALORI. Paris : Dentu.

L'Empire Mexicain et Son Avenir. Paris : Dentu.

Speeches and Addresses on British American Union. By the Hon. T. D'ARCY MCGEE, Minister of Agriculture in the Canadian Government. London : Chapman & Hall.

Parliamentary Debates on the subject of Confederation. Printed by order of the Legislature. Quebec : Hunter, Rose, & Co.

Papers relating to the Conferences between H. M. Government and the Executive Council of Canada. By Command. London : Spottiswoode.

PUBLIC opinion, amazed at the sudden and complete collapse of the American war, is already beginning to wonder how it could ever have believed in the success of the South. But public opinion is in its nature Protean, and has, besides, in this country, the advantage of the anonymous. How many in a million remember to-day what the *Times* said yesterday? But the words of statesmen of the first class become texts; and never, perhaps, was there any great series of public events in which the calculations and predictions of the most eminent politicians of this country, and, indeed, of all Europe, have been so utterly belied by the event. Mr. Gladstone's famous expression about the nation which Jefferson Davis had made, will long militate against his character for that foresight which is supposed to be the first faculty of a minister. But Mr. Disraeli's more elaborate horoscope of the results of the war has proved equally fallacious. Mr. Disraeli more than once, after declaring that the war would be a longer war than any one in Europe yet imagined, intimated that it would end in the formation of not merely two, but more than two, Sovereign Confederacies—dimly indicating that the Western States, and perhaps the Pacific, would in their turn

secede, and form two rival Republics, with a complicated diplomacy, large standing armies, and the same tendency to war as the Greek cities of the time before Alexander, or the Italian cities of the age of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. This prediction is one which its author would, perhaps, be glad to obliterate from *Hansard*. But the consideration of such calculations on the part of great politicians is valuable, as indicating that they as little understand the American character, and the real tendencies of American events, as they ordinarily do Asiatic character and events. Their calculations would have been good calculations had they been applied to a war between two European nations, or perhaps even two great segments of the same European race. But there are certain differences between Europe and America which even advanced thinkers here do not adequately estimate.

The higher average intelligence of the mass of the American population counts for much in all public transactions. It enlists a far greater energy if they become convinced that a cause is winning, and will win. But their peculiar dialect is rich in words that, on the other hand, indicate an easy acquiescence in failure, recognized as inevitable; they avow that it is necessary to "cave in," and that a cause or a man is "played out," with a degree of deference to the logic of facts which is peculiar to their polity. One of the French Princes is said to have stopped a Yankee sergeant, who was running away as fast as his legs could carry him, after one of the battles on the Chickahominy, and reproached him with his cowardly conduct. The sergeant stopped coolly to debate the point with the "stranger." His argument was that he had been fighting all day, had fired a hundred rounds of cartridge, that the battle, nevertheless, was not won, and he guessed his General did not know how to win it—so, he calculated, he should run. This explanation was given with the greatest coolness, while the disputants were actually under fire; and, as soon as it was over, the Yankee took to his heels again. There is every evidence hitherto that throughout the South, as fast as the population recognized the fact that the cause of the Confederacy was "played out," they accepted the fact, and acted accordingly. Even in the very heat and fury of the war it was remarkable that a general, with a character such as was attributed to General Butler, should be able to hold, as it were, in the palm of his hand, such a city as New Orleans, always remarkable for its riotous and blood-thirsty population. Russian generals in Warsaw, Austrian generals in Milan, have, generally speaking, had a different time of it; and this indicates a second leading difference between an American and

a European population. The American—perhaps because he has so much to do with the making and unmaking of it, perhaps because it is pretty much a religion as well as a code to him—has a greater respect for the law than the ordinary European. Not merely did Northern generals peaceably occupy great Southern cities and States—they easily succeeded in extemporising the different institutions of Republican Government; and the people could not resist the temptation of working them. Slavery has been abolished in nearly as many Southern States by the action of their State Legislatures as by the Presidential proclamation; and no one has seriously doubted that its abolition in such States was a valid act of popular Sovereignty. The very idea of popular Sovereignty does, in fact, inform and intensify the character of the whole people, and equally animates them to victory, or renders them resigned to disaster. But, beyond this, they appear to differ from European nations most essentially in their rapid mastery of facts and their ready respect for law.

If Mr. Disraeli had drawn his picture of the results of the war, with a view, not so much to the United States in particular as North America in general, the tendency of events would certainly appear to move towards a kind of fulfilment of his prediction. The restored United States fronts the world, animated by an intensified pride of nationality, and an extraordinary, but justified, confidence in its unprecedented resources; with the powers of the Executive Government immensely enhanced, and the functions of the several States considerably lowered in the political hierarchy,—a Government rather more out of proportion with the other Governments of America than Russia is with the other Governments of Europe. Indeed, such a comparison as this with Russia can only be suggested, but does not bear an instant's argument. Two European States have combined and defeated Russia; but what combination of mere American Powers could cope with the United States? The French sovereign and statesmen, who have pledged the honour of France to the establishment of the Mexican Empire, and the British Cabinet, which has just agreed to guarantee the loan which is to provide the defences and communications of a Canadian Confederation, would hardly wish to take the responsibility of answering. There will, indeed, be a strange balance of powers henceforward on the American continent; and no stint of soldiers, no limit to the complications of diplomacy. But the soldiers will be in a considerable degree European; and at this moment France and England seem to have deliberately committed themselves to traverse the leading

doctrine of American diplomacy—that which is associated with the name of Mr. Munroe; but which Prince Napoleon Jerome has lately informed the citizens of Ajaccio was, in part at least, an *Idée Napoléonienne*. Instead of watching from a safe distance, as some had hoped, the political perturbations of the Western World, the lines of European and American policy tend to become more and more inextricably intermingled, and for years to come a random shot fired on the Rio Grande or the St. Lawrence, may plunge one or both of the two Western Powers of Europe into the gigantic hazards of a Transatlantic war.

Had the statesmen of France or of England rightly read the signs of the late civil war, or contemplated as possible the complete collapse of the South, it is difficult to believe that they would have committed themselves, as they have thus done, to an ambitious American policy—the only compensation for which, to European states and subjects, seems to be that the fact of their being so bound to a somewhat parallel policy in America, is a certain guarantee for their remaining on a good understanding in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The idea of the Mexican Empire is generally supposed to be a Napoleonic idea, pure and simple. But it is, in reality, rather the bequest of that Iberian-Irish General, O'Donoghue, who, in lowering the flag of Spain and recognizing the independence of Mexico, stipulated that the colony should become an empire, and that the crown should be worn by a Prince of the Spanish blood royal. This idea did not merely die with the condemnation of the treaty of Iguala by the Cortes, to revive in the person of the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. During forty years it has had its tradition, its martyrs, and its confessors. Few European students have had the patience to study the series of 240 revolutions which have succeeded each other in Mexico, from the termination of General O'Donoghue's viceroyalty to the coronation of the Emperor Maximilian. But no one who has made even the most cursory survey of Mexican history can fail to have been struck by that strange, half ludicrous, half tragic episode of General Iturbide proclaiming himself the Emperor Augustin the First. Fatal as was the *fiasco* of his fortunes, the idea had potency enough to establish a Legitimist party, who believed to the last in the claims of his Imperial Highness Prince Felix,—a young Pretender, who enjoyed much consideration at Philadelphia, when it was visited, a quarter of a century ago, by another Imperial Pretender, for whom destiny reserved, among its favours and its tasks, that of turning Iturbide's folly into a fact. It was

about the same time that the founder of what we may call the Mexican Imperial party appeared to the public. This was Don Gutierrez d'Estrada, a politician who had occupied several offices of distinction and responsibility, and who bore a personal character of singular virtue and dignity. A pamphlet which he published, addressed to the President of the Republic, and urging the establishment of a monarchical Government, cost him temporary exile, and would probably, had he been caught while the sensation it produced was fresh, have cost him his life. But he lived to concert with the Emperor Napoleon the bases upon which the Mexican Empire was organized, and to lead the deputation of notables which carried the Crown of Montezuma to the Castle of Miramar.

Never did Hapsburg, never did Bonaparte, face a more arduous problem than that which the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian undertook when he accepted the title of Emperor of Mexico. Twenty years ago it was said of Mexico that it was not a State, and that it was hardly a society. When we read that in forty years it has had 240 revolutions, one is tempted to think that the number must be exaggerated; but any one who knows anything of Mexico will tell you, and it is quite easy to believe, that, on the whole, an exaggeration of a few scores, or even hundreds, in the matter of Mexican revolutions, is of little substantial importance. Even France, with difficulty, endures one revolution in the course of a generation, and the solemn agony shakes all Europe like an earthquake. What absolute demoralization and utter disintegration of all the principles upon which human society rests is indicated in a State to which revolution comes and goes like an epileptic fit.

Yet this country, in which man plays the part assigned to the tiger and the cobra in other regions, only needs the presence of peace, law, and order to be, without an exception, the most productively prosperous of all the territories of the globe. It may well be described as an epitome of all other countries and climates. Lofty mountain ranges, spacious table lands, valleys of vast extent and astonishing fertility, rich rolling prairie plains, and splendid tracts of alluvial land appear in various succession—while nature teems with every variety of animal and vegetable life, and the climate ranges in steady cycles, from the torrid heat of the tropics which breathes along the gulf, to that perpetual air of spring which fans the mountain slopes. In one or other of its three great thermometric regions, every plant that grows in any quarter of the globe finds a home, from the sugar-cane, the cotton plant, and the banana, to our common cereals and

legumes. But the richness of the motley garb of crops with which the soil arrays itself at will, is only a thin disguise to the vaster and more condensed wealth which it hardly hides. The mountains of Mexico are one vast mass of minerals. There is hardly a district of its territory, from the confines of California to the shores of Campeachy, that does not yield the precious metals. The great central plateau of the Cordilleras is an enormous crystal of porphyry, thickly sown with seams of gold and silver. Nor is this prodigality of ready-made money limited to the mountain quarries. The plains of Sonora are a sort of richer fag-end of California the golden; and there, too, silver is so common that the Indian uses it for his bullets.

M. Chevalier* draws a marvellous vision of the wealth of Mexico, based upon most absolute facts, in the sketch of a railway that would run from Vera Cruz to Acapulco by the city of Mexico—a work certain to be executed whenever the adequate promise of peace tempts capital to one of the most magnificent investments ever offered to enterprise. On such a line, in the course of a few hours, the traveller would survey almost every variety of fruit, foliage, and flowers which the two continents contain. Passing from Mexico itself to Acapulco, he would find in the course of two hours all varieties of vegetation, from the green and homely plants which spread by the banks of the Thames or the Seine, to the gorgeous and exuberant growths of Cuba or Ceylon. As he commences to descend the plateau, on either side, he is surrounded by forests of pine and gardens of olives, by gay vineyards and exuberant cornfields, to which succeed arid tracts overspread with thickets of blooming cactus and groves of aloes. Then the orange lifts its glowing flowers and fruit; the cotton tree sheds its delicate tissue. A new cactus follows, upon which the Cochineal insect distils his precious dye, and a silkworm, different from that of Europe, spins his tiny web. The great tropical trees rapidly succeed—the banana with its luscious fruit, the sugar-cane with its juicy pores, the coffee-berry's subtle aroma, the indigo's deep dye, the cocoa tree, and the plant from which is distilled the delicate flavour of vanille, dear to the haunters of Parisian boulevards—but which, as M. Chevalier takes care to remark, was an old Mexican luxury, for it is recorded that chocolate prepared with vanille was one of the delicacies which Montezuma offered to Cortes. So in its rapid succession of the *Tierra Chaude*, or hot, *Tierra Templada*, or temperate, and *Tierra Fria*, or cold lands,

* Le Mexique Ancien et Moderne. Partie Sixième.

Mexico offers, as it were, a harmony of creation, and the simple line of railroad, which would connect its two chief ports and its capital—traversing a distance little greater than the length of Great Britain, yet passing through a double range of zones, would, as it were, at the same time, set the new imperial capital astride on the two great oceans, Atlantic and Pacific. It seems almost natural to say, that Providence must have had a special predilection for this country, in concentrating upon it every kind of natural advantage, which elsewhere is dispersed far apart across the deserts wild and antres vast that separate the cultivated regions of whole continents.

This country, which God made so like paradise, man has done his utmost to turn into an active purgatory. When we come to contemplate the grandeur and the profusion of its natural resources, everything wears a certain hopeless and perverse character. At any time for the last forty years it has only been necessary for the Mexican people to have observed internal peace, and with a very moderate degree of industry, to have become the most prosperous of American nations. The difference which solid political institutions may make in the fortunes of a country, is marked by the contrast which exists between the state of Brazil and the state of Mexico. Brazil, half a century ago, was less populous than Mexico, and less civilized. Its territory has not that rich succession of agricultural zones, and its minerals are not to be compared with those of Mexico. Nevertheless, Brazil is at present more populous than Mexico. It is more prosperous. After the United States, it is the only American government that is seriously considered in Europe. It has had its difficulties with European Powers, and on a recent occasion held its own position even against England with remarkable dignity. It is the only Spanish government in either America, which has not seen the public authority again and again kicked down and trodden on in the streets of its capital. While Brazil has been growing in wealth and political solidity, Mexico has so conducted its foreign affairs that it has lost more than half the territory, which it carried away from the Crown of Spain, to the avaricious ambition of the United States; has twice seen its capital, situate in the very centre of the country, occupied by foreign armies; has had its ports bombarded; has had its credit abased to the lowest level on every European exchange, and felt its diplomacy utterly without influence in Court or Chancellery. What influence can the foreign representation of a country have, the tenure of whose government is about three months, on an average of forty years!

There is only one reason why Brazil should present such a complete contrast with Mexico, and that is that Brazil has a government congenial to the traditions and habits of its population, and finds its whole society harmonized and crowned by a hereditary monarchy ; whereas, among the Spaniards of the North, the Republican system, which had no real basis in the constitution of the country, only produced an endemic anarchy. As M. de Havilland says, "Chacun comprend qu'une République sans républicains est impossible."* Now this, on the other hand, is the specific difference between Mexico and the United States. The original English colonists of America, especially of New England, were Republicans in theory, and had the opportunity, owing to the measure of self-government which they enjoyed during even their colonial connection, of being Republicans in practice. Their municipal, educational, and religious policy were Republican long before the Revolution. Royalty and aristocracy had no more place in their system than they have at present in Victoria or New Zealand. But the population of Mexico had every conceivable disqualification for Republican institutions. It is a most mixed population, and mixed of races which tend to fire rather than to phlegm. The Spaniard, who colonized Mexico, chiefly came from Castille or Andalusia, and bears in his veins a deep leaven of Arab blood. His intellect is brilliant and rapid ; his manners are full of a generous courtesy ; his courage is always on the venture ; his temper is sudden and fierce. He was a roving *caballero* ; and he came alone into the New World. This is another deep cause of the difference between the Spanish and the English communities in America. The English family moved whole and complete into the New World, and the Indian fell back before its spreading meshes farther and farther toward the setting sun. But when emigration was in rapid movement in Spain, the traveller would find whole villages in Andalusia abandoned to the women and children ; while in Mexico, a new race, half Spanish, half Indian, was becoming the most numerous and the most powerful element in the population of the country.

The Meztizoe tends to become the actual master of Mexico, as the Mulatto tends to become the master of the West India islands. The relation between races and political institutions is not so strict perhaps as some essayists would persuade us to believe. But if ever there was a population unsuited by blood and ideas for republican institutions, it was this population of a colony of Andalusians tinged with an Arab

* *Mexique sous de la Maison de Hapsbourg*, p. 17.

tone; of a nation of Indians, the descendants of the race which had developed the curious and beautiful hierarchy of Aztec civilization; and of a growing mixed caste, which more frequently reproduced the vices than the virtues of the Spanish and Indian characters. For a government in which the principle of liberty will be permitted to predominate, it is above all things necessary that the population should be homogeneous in blood and tongue—if possible in religion and in the leading trains of secular thought. But Mexico is a country in which, if there is anything certain, it is that there is not and cannot be for several generations, perhaps several centuries to come, any such homogeneity in the population. At present, hardly any country offers such curious studies in ethnology. There are the pure Spaniard and the pure Indian, both of the most characteristic and refined types; the mixed race, Spanish and Indian, in half a dozen different degrees; and again, a not inconsiderable helot population, half African, half Indian, which is sometimes mingled with the Spanish hybrid, and produces in all its varieties the most hideous specimens of humanity known among men. This so curiously mixed population is again divided into the strangest numerical disproportions, in the point of view of producing a political balance of power. Of the eight millions of population which Silido's and Tejada's estimates attribute to Mexico, four are native Indian; only one million is of pure Spanish descent; not quite 10,000 are of European birth, and of these one half are Spanish; the rest, French, English, and Germans. In fine, three millions and a half are composed of zamboes, meztizoes, mulattoes, and other mixed races. The great problem of miscegenation, raised by some of the more enthusiastic American abolitionists as the obvious result of the victory of the North, confronts his Mexican Majesty at every turn. His sole remaining rival for supreme power, Juarez, is an actual Meztizoe. Should M. Chevalier's ideas of race have the same influence on the imperial mind as his ideas on religion unhappily appear to have had, the ethnology of Mexico, in the course of half a century, will be even more curious and various than its botany. M. Chevalier suggests the policy of encouraging a strong Chinese immigration, and believes that "it would be no more difficult to people Mexico with Chinese emigrants than the valley of the Mississippi or the basin of the St. Lawrence with the sons of Ireland, or with the peasants who cultivate the banks of the Rhine and the Oder." The emperor himself is naturally very anxious to promote a German immigration, while the French government has, we believe, from an early stage of the enterprise advised a considerable infusion of that

Irish element which has so powerfully contributed to the growth of the United States. It is far from improbable, if the new empire should endure, that considerable additional foreign elements may be added to the population, and that the head of the Latin race in the new world may so find herself, in the course of time, surrounded by a loyal population representing every shade of the Mongol, Indian, Negro, Teutonic, Celtic, and Celtiberian races; as finely graduated as the transit through turnips, maize, mango, cotton, and banana on the mountains. But such a population is not in its present state, nor is it likely to be for several of the coming stages of its growth, very well fitted for the action of parliamentary government; and its miscellaneous conditions afford as reasonable a ground, on the one hand, for the prominence which is given to the element of executive authority in the constitution proclaimed by his Imperial Majesty in April, as is offered by its anarchical history on the other.

Considering the fervent spirit of faith in which, on the occasion of his visit to Rome, immediately before his departure for Mexico, the Archduke appeared eager to inaugurate his great enterprise, what is to be thought and said of his policy in religious matters? It has given a very serious shock to the hope with which his accession to the throne was regarded, and it has raised the most natural doubts as to the stability of his government. Even were we to discard the primary question of right, the impolicy of building such an authority as that of an Emperor of Mexico ought to be on a basis of godless indifferentism, seems absolutely fatuous. The one bond between all the mixed races which form the Mexican population at present, is their ardent devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. An American traveller, who had extensive experience of the country, and who was by no means partial to Catholic principles, once said—"There is only one Party in Mexico, and that is the Catholic Party. If a government cannot base itself upon that party, it cannot stand. The rest are rogues and rapparees." To make a population semi-civilized, semi-barbarous, of so many mixed bloods, one, whole, and homogeneous, there would seem to be but one way for however enlightened and vigorous a ruler—and that is the way of the one faith, one law, one baptism. Nor does the number of foreigners in Mexico afford any room for altering that which was the fundamental law of the Mexican republic. "The religion of the Mexican nation is and shall be perpetually the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatsoever."—*Constitution, Art. 3.* When we analyze in detail the

return of foreigners actually resident in Mexico in 1858, we find that, of the entire number 9,234, 5,141 were Spaniards, 2,048 French, 615 English (under which would be included Irish), 581 Germans, 444 Americans, and 405 citizens of other countries. It is very probable that of these not 1,000 persons in all profess any religion but that of the Catholic Church; and that among these 1,000 would be found a large proportion of the most dangerous enemies of the new government. Yet it is for their especial benefit apparently that the emperor is departing from the orthodox policy of the Spanish government and of the original republican constitution, and for the first time establishing in Mexico as one of the fundamental bases of his empire, the *liberté des cultes* of the French system of '89.

Upon this question we never could have any doubt as to what would be the decision of the Holy See; and Cardinal Antonelli, in the masterly note which he addressed to Don Ignace d'Aguilar, the Mexican ambassador at Rome, on the 9th of March, does not allow the least opportunity for any misconception whatsoever. Speaking of the position and instructions of the Nuncio at Mexico, his Eminence says:—

Expressly charged by the Holy Father to defend and to preserve the exclusive rights of the Catholic Religion in a country exclusively Catholic, he assuredly could not admit as the basis of negotiation the tolerance of all worships, since the Holy See in its treaties with the governments of nations divided in belief, has never recognized, in principle, any such tolerance, but confined itself simply, wherever it existed in fact, to obtain guarantees that it should not effect any prejudice to the Catholic Religion. The Mexican nation considers it to be one of its greatest glories never to have admitted within it any other religion than the true one, and the history of these later times shows us what have been the results of the various attempts of the enemies of the Church to introduce into Mexico the liberty of worship. Such a measure, which the actual condition of Mexico does not demand, and which, on the contrary, the universal feeling of the population rejects, would offer not only an evil example to the other governments of Southern America, but it would draw down a series of calamities upon Mexico, and instead of facilitating the arrangement of religious affairs, it would only serve to weaken the Catholic Faith more and more, and to destroy altogether ecclesiastical discipline.

But the questions between the Holy See and the Emperor of Mexico are unfortunately not limited to the question of the *liberté des cultes*. The spirit of Austrian Josephism seems to have united with the spirit of '89 to possess his Majesty in all matters of religion. The Cardinal Secretary of State feels bound to protest in equally energetic terms against his claim to enjoy for himself and his successors in *perpetuum*,

all the privileges and prerogatives of the King of Spain in regard to the Spanish-American Churches, and against the proposition to substitute for the sequestrated property of the Mexican Church, and for its tithes, a pension paid from the public treasury. "Assuredly," his Eminence says, "this is not what the Mexican bishops and clergy expected when, united with all their fellow citizens, they offered their prayers to God to hasten the arrival of the sovereign called by them to the imperial throne, that sovereign from whom they demanded, on the contrary, that he should destroy with a firm and powerful hand the work of the revolution, and restore to the Church the full exercise of its sacred rights." There is even a question of personal good faith involved in the very manner of his Majesty's actions. In his letter to the Minister, Escudero, in which he announced last December the bases upon which he proposed to settle the pending religious questions, he speaks of certain negotiations entered into at Rome between himself and the Sovereign Pontiff. The cardinal is obliged to state that no such negotiations were entered upon, and that although the Holy Father wished to have a conference with his Majesty on the chief questions affecting the Church in Mexico, "whether on account of the short time which his Majesty could stay at Rome or for other motives which it is not necessary to recall, his Holiness was led to understand that it was not the Emperor's intention, on that occasion, to open any negotiation on the religious affairs of Mexico." So, also, in the same letter to Senhor Escudero, his Majesty complains that the Nuncio, Mgr. Meglia, was sent to Mexico without instructions to treat directly on the pending questions. His Eminence, with just indignation, repels this supposition—a supposition which he brands as "not very legitimate or conformable to the truth." He recalls to the memory of the ambassador whom he is addressing the express despatch of the 26th of September of the preceeding year, in which the functions of the Nuncio were distinctly defined and communicated through the regular channel to the Mexican government even before Monsignor Meglia's departure from Rome. But, certainly, his Eminence declares the Nuncio had no instructions to treat on such utterly unwarrantable bases of negotiation as were proposed by the Imperial Mexican Government on his arrival—"bases which he was obliged to declare were opposed in principle to the ideas and the hopes of the Holy See." The note of the Cardinal Secretary closes with a very solemn warning, couched in these terms:—

His Holiness firmly believes that in order to give peace to souls, to calm the disquietude of consciences, to assure the prosperity of the Church, and,

in fine, to consolidate the civil order itself, it is absolutely indispensable that the two powers should put themselves fully in accord, and that the civil authority, respecting the authority of the Church, may so receive from it a sure and powerful support. The Holy Father does not wish to suppose that his Majesty, reared in a Catholic family always so well-disposed towards the Church, could so misunderstand his own true interests, and the real end of the mission which God has confided to him. He hopes, on the contrary, that his Majesty will abandon the line traced in his letter to the Minister Escudero, and so spare to the Holy See the necessity of taking proper measures to guard before the whole world the responsibility of the august chief of the Church—*measures of which the least will not assuredly be the recall of the Pontifical representative at Mexico*, who cannot remain a powerless spectator of the plunder of the Church, and the violation of its most sacred rights.

As we write, the report comes by telegraph from Rome that the Nuncio and the Mexican ambassador have respectively received their passports from the governments to which they were accredited; and, accordingly, that there is an utter breach between the empire and the Church. What may be the further action of the Holy See on this occasion it does not become us to anticipate; but great as is the peril in which the new empire is placed by the conclusion of the civil war in the United States, and by the fact that their present President is one of the most ardent votaries of the Monroe doctrine, it is, in our belief, a mere bagatelle in comparison with the position in which the Emperor will find himself when it is well understood among the Catholic and conservative party, who have been his chief support, that the relations of his government with Rome are absolutely suspended.

The sole reliance of the new empire at this moment is, in fact, the strong arm of France. Certainly the power of France has been hitherto unsparingly employed in its support. It is on the whole probable, from Marshal Bazaine's last report, that the French have now got military command of the whole country. If it be true that they have taken Monterey and Mazatlan, we shall probably hear by an early mail either of the capture of Juarez, or of his arrival in Texas. There is equal evidence of the strong diplomatic pressure which has been put upon the government of President Johnson, with the intention of obtaining a recognition of the Mexican empire by the United States. Were such a recognition obtained, and General Juarez had abandoned the contest, the French government would, it may be supposed, consider its mission in Mexico fulfilled, and gladly avail itself of the excuse to retire. *The Mexican expedition may be said to be the one large enterprise of the new empire which the sheer force of will of Napoleon*

III. has alone carried through. In every other he has had the support now of one, now of another considerable section of the French nation. But the Mexican war was not even popular with the army. It has been such a weight upon the finances of France as to seriously annoy all the commercial and propertied classes. The leaders of opinion of all sections, Prince Napoleon, M. Berryer, M. Thiers, M. Gueroult, have been unanimously outspoken in its condemnation, and have had but one formula in which to express the policy proper for France. "There is but one course to take, that is, to evacuate Mexico with the least possible delay."* Nor, in fine, can it be reasonably doubted that when the Emperor wrote his famous letter to General Forey exactly three years ago, and promised to give "to the Latin race on the other side of the Atlantic its force and its *prestige*; to guarantee their security to the colonies of the Antilles and to those of Spain; and to establish the benevolent influence of France at the centre of America," he calculated that the civil war in the States would have had quite a different end; and that the Emperor Maximilian and President Jefferson Davis would by this time have mutually recognized, perhaps entered into alliance with each other. Still the French Emperor is not likely, while the power remains to him, to abandon an enterprise on which he has staked so much *prestige*, and wasted men and money so freely. He must feel that his support is indispensable to the new government, and that as the Catholic party becomes alienated on the one hand, as the power of the United States becomes more consolidated on the other, only the force of France can save the empire of Maximilian from as ephemeral a fate as that of the empire of Iturbide.

The British Government has just accepted a responsibility, *vis-a-vis* of that of Washington, somewhat similar to that which the French Government much more gratuitously undertook with regard to Mexico. After long and exhaustive debates throughout the colonies, and after a full conference between the Cabinets of Canada and of the United Kingdom, Her Majesty's Government has decided to give its active and thorough support to the scheme of the Canadian Confederation. The natural and reasonable process of giving a Federal Government to the various British Colonies, which occupy about one third of the territory of North America, would, in ordinary times, have excited no strong sentiment, and, perhaps, no particular attention in the United States. But it has so happened

* M. Henri Moreau, "La Politique Française en Amérique."

that the scheme having in the first instance been countenanced, because it was supposed that if the South succeeded in establishing its independence, the North would endeavour to compensate itself, by the annexation of Canada—the negotiations, which are altogether based upon the necessity of a policy of defence against the United States, have only been brought to an issue three months after the fall of Richmond. The Canadian Confederation, as well as the Mexican Empire, thus takes its stand upon a certain basis of hostility to the United States, and the countenance of the British Government is at the very least as much committed to the one structure as that of the French is to the other. It is in a very different degree of obligation, however. Mexico is not a French colony, and, were it not for the point of honour, might be abandoned to its fate by the Emperor Napoleon at any moment. But the territory north of the St. Lawrence is British territory as much as Kent or Bengal; and the terms which the Canadian Government has obtained within the last few days, while raising the Colonies almost to a state of political independence, really involve an engagement upon the part of the Empire to defend all that territory as it would defend English or Indian territory. This decision is the most important that has been come to upon any question of Imperial policy since the authority of the Company was superseded in the East Indies. Nor can it be said to be in any conformity with the recent tendencies of English public opinion in regard to the relation of the Empire with the colonies.

The doctrines, with which Mr. Goldwin Smith's name is particularly identified, have, to a considerable degree, affected the views of the whole Liberal Press; and, even in Parliament, Mr. Lowe has boldly maintained the thesis, that this country is unable to defend the frontiers of Canada, and that her only honest and straightforward policy is to withdraw her troops, and leave the colonists to take care of themselves. There has been so much not over-politic candour on the subject, that we should not be surprised to hear that the Canadian Delegates have quickened negotiations by a dash of equal frankness. The talk here has been of the Empire abandoning the Colony. What if the Colony should lose any sense of shame about abandoning the Empire? No more critical question than this could well come under the consideration of Imperial statesmen; and we rejoice that they have decided it on the broad, ancient, and conservative principles of Imperial policy. But if they had hesitated, and if the Ministerial deputation had returned to Canada, only able to report that the ideas of Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Lowe seemed to have affected the councils of Her Majesty's confidential advisers—then it is not

improbable that the next diplomatic deputation that should leave Quebec would travel to Washington instead of London.

Canada has for some time, but notably since the American civil war commenced, been of all the colonies the most unpopular in England. There was a continual outcry against its government and people for the apathy with which they appeared to regard the great war which was raging on the other side of their frontiers, and the indifference with which they seemed to contemplate the prospect of being annexed by the Northern States. The fact is now becoming apparent, that the Canadian statesmen and people were somewhat wiser in their generation than ours. They believed in the final triumph of the North over the South, when such an opinion was generally treated as a delusion and something worse in England. In the main, they rather sympathized with the North than with the South. How could it be otherwise? Canada had for many years been the haven of every fugitive slave who escaped through the North, and at the very moment when the secession took place its supreme court was occupied with a case in which the freedom of British soil seemed so deeply involved that the Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster issued a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring the negro to England. The Canadians were unable to follow or even to comprehend the sudden revolution in English opinion which took place concerning the cause of the slave States. In regard to their own position towards their neighbours, they felt comparatively at ease, and probably believed that if a war did take place between Great Britain and America, it would be because of the pressure from the cotton districts, or of some illegitimate interference with the blockade, or of the building of *Alabamas* and *Tuscaloosas*, or of an injudicious Anglo-French intervention. They never contemplated the possibility of its arising out of any purely Canadian interest or offence; but they felt that if they passed the sort of militia and other military measures that were urged upon them from England, the attitude of friendly neutrality in which they stood towards their neighbours might be regarded as suddenly changed for one of menace. Their lethargy was in reality a "masterly inactivity," and exercised at the time a valuable check upon the whole policy of the empire. Events have proved that their opinion as to the issue of the contest was right, and that of the governing classes and leading journals of England utterly wrong.

The project of a confederation of all the British North American provinces, in the course of these discussions, took positive form, and won its way easily with popular opinion in the

several provinces, more slowly with the judgment of the Imperial Government. Insignificant as the irregular chain of colonies, that begins with Newfoundland and ends at Vancouver's Island, appeared in their disjected state, the very idea of union raises them to a second place among American Powers. Their population is indeed only half that of Mexico, but it is a population of a very sturdy and seasoned physique—to the Southern Meztizoe as teak is to cedar. They have four millions of people, and a territory of four millions of square miles. Their joint revenue is £3,000,000; their joint debt, £16,000,000; their annual exports and imports amount to £27,000,000; the value of their agricultural produce is estimated at £30,000,000; their tonnage stands seventh on the list of sea-faring nations; their trade has quadrupled within the last ten years. These are the dimensions of a new commonwealth, not of a group of colonies; and it is notable that, as the idea of union has spread among them, the minds of their politicians, hitherto heated by local broils and merely personal competitions, have become elevated and enlarged to the greatness of the destiny opening before them. There is no State in Europe which might not be content to be represented in the conduct of its greatest affairs by the four Ministers who, in the negotiations of the last month, carried the proxy of Canada. The discussions, Parliamentary and otherwise in the various provinces, the proceedings of the Conference, and in especial the great debates in the Canadian Parliament, in which the plan of Confederation was finally adopted, would do honour to any legislative assembly in the world.

The speeches of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee, which have just been re-published in England, will give to the reader who wishes to follow the course of this important movement, that lucid and symmetrical information which it is the perquisite of a great natural orator to convey. There is no consideration—whether of the various local balances of power, or of general imperial policy—of the relation of party to party and of colony to colony, and of the colonies in combination to the empire, and to the moving powers of the American continent—there is no argument that can be adduced from the character of the frontier, the habit of the population, their tendencies of thought, their temperament, their trade, which is not fully canvassed and set in a light of its own in the course of these eloquent and exhaustive addresses. No Canadian statesman seems to have laboured more assiduously in this great cause, as none has had the art of putting the evidence of his labours in a more attractive form.

This passage, for example, on the character of the Canadian

frontier is a statement every word of which is full of serious suggestion:—

It seems probable that we shall all be obliged to study the map of the country hereafter, more than we ever did before; and it is impossible, it seems to me, to cast even a cursory glance at it without feeling that we occupy one of the most peculiar positions—that our population, so far, is the most peculiarly distributed—of any to be found anywhere else on this side of the world. Our great central valley from Cornwall to the Saguenay, is banked on both sides with settlements, facing to the front and not extending, on an average, except up the lateral valley of the Ottawa, and in the direction of the Eastern Townships, fifty miles from the St. Lawrence; we have thus a long narrow riband of population, one-seventh the breadth of its own length, as singularly shaped a country as eye ever beheld. East of the junction of the Saguenay with the St. Lawrence, our population is carried down to the gulf by the south shore alone, while west of Cornwall, it is found only to the north of the Upper St. Lawrence and the great Lakes. The peopled part of the province thus presents the shape of a long fantastic letter “S”—a waving Lesbian line, which, to my eye, is neither a line of beauty nor of grace, nor of defensive strength. At and above Cornwall, this twist of population is defined by the 45th parallel of latitude, but there is no necessity for any such peculiarity in Lower Canada. From the Ottawa to the St. Maurice, and from the St. Maurice to the Saguenay on the one shore; from the Chateaugay to the Du Loup on the other shore, there is the strongest testimony of the best authorities—surveyors, geologists, lumberers, practical men of all origins—that three, four, seven-fold the present population, may find ample space and remuneration for their industry. Fortunately for us who advocate the recruiting of a productive rather than of a destructive army, science with its hammer and its theodolite has been for twenty years at work in those wildernesses. Our living geologists have exploded one fallacy—that the granite country between the Ottawa and Lake Huron could never sustain a numerous population; and this is precisely the same country, geologically, which we find open to settlement in Lower Canada. This is precisely the character of the North Shore Counties between Montreal and Quebec, where if ever Canada stands at bay, in defence of her separate nationality, it must be with her back to that great Laurentian chain of highlands which trends away from the Saguenay to the Ottawa, and from the Ottawa to Lake Huron.

In another speech he says that its own distinct principles of society and government are a better boundary for Canada than the river St. Lawrence or the Ashburton line. To this end he adds:—

We offer you no political patent medicine warranted to cure everything, nor do we pretend that our work is a perfect work; but if we cannot make it perfect, we have at least left it capable of revision, by the concurrence of the parties to the present settlement, and the consent of the same supreme authority from which we seek the original sanction of our plan. Still it is

to be hoped that the necessity for any revision will seldom occur, for I am quite sure the people of these provinces will never wish to have it said of their constitution, what the French bookseller of the last century said so wittily, on being asked for the French Constitution, that he did not deal in periodical publications. We build on the old foundations, and I trust I may say, in the spirit of the ancient founders, as well. The groundwork of the monarchical form of government is humility, self-denial, obedience, and holy fear. I know these are not nineteenth-century virtues, neither are they plants indigenous to the soil of the New World. Because it is a new world, as yet undisciplined, pride and self-assertion, and pretension, are more common than the great family of humble virtues whose names I have named. Pure democracy is very like pride—it is the “good-as-you” feeling carried into politics. Pure democracy asserts an unreal equality between youth and age, subject and magistrate, the weak and the strong, the vicious and the virtuous. But the same virtues which feed and nourish filial affection and conjugal peace in private life, are essential to uphold civil authority; and these are the virtues on which the monarchical form of government alone can be maintained.

Speaking of the Inter-colonial Railroad, which is to join the interior provinces with the sea, and which is a principal element in the arrangement concluded with the Imperial Government, he says:—

I rejoice, moreover, that we, men of insular origin, are likely to recover by this means one of our lost senses—the sense that comprehends the sea—that we are not now about to subside into a character so foreign to all our antecedents, that of a mere inland people. The Union of the Provinces restores us to the ocean, takes us back to the Atlantic, and launches us once more on the modern Mediterranean, the true central sea of the western world. But it is not only for its material advantages, by which we may enrich each other, nor its joint political action, by which we may protect each other, that the Union is to be desired; it is because it will give, as it only can give, a distinct historical existence to British America. If it should be fortunately safely established and wisely upheld, mankind will find here, standing side by side, on this half-cleared continent, the British and American forms of free government; here we shall have the means of comparison and contrast in the greatest affairs; here we shall have principles tested in their results, and maxims inspected and systems gauged, and schools of thought, as well as rules of state, reformed and revised, founded and refounded.

In another speech he pursues the same train of thought in a passage, the florid grace and full compact thought of which are not unworthy to be compared even with the imperial style of Edmund Burke:—

I endeavour to contemplate it in the light of a future, possible, probable, and I hope to live to be able to say, positive British American Nationality. For I repeat in the terms of the question I asked at first, what do we need to construct such a Nationality? Territory, resources by sea and land, civil

and religious freedom—these we already have. Four millions we already are—four millions culled from the races that for a thousand years have led the van of Christendom. When the sceptre of Christian civilisation trembled in the enervate grasp of the Greeks of the lower empire, then the western tribes of Europe, fiery, hirsute, clamorous, but kindly, snatched at the falling prize, and placed themselves at the head of human affairs. We are the children of these fire-tried kingdom-founders, of these ocean-discoverers of Western Europe. Analyse our aggregate population: we have more Saxons than Alfred had when he founded the English State; we have more Celts than Brian had when he put his heel on the neck of Odin; we have more Normans than William had when he marshalled his invading host along the strand of Falaise. We have the laws of St. Edward and St. Louis; Magna Charta and the Roman code; we speak the speeches of Shakespeare and Bossuet; we copy the constitution which Burke, and Somers, and Sidney, and Sir Thomas More lived or died to secure or save. Out of these august elements, in the name of the future generations who shall inhabit all the vast regions we now call ours, I invoke the fortunate genius of an united British America, to solemnise law with the moral sanctions of religion, and to crown the fair pillar of our freedom with its only appropriate capital, lawful authority, so that, hand in hand, we and our descendants may advance steadily to the accomplishment of a common destiny.

Here we must limit our extracts; but we may at the same time say in a word that the whole case of British North America, as to every point upon which information can possibly be required when the question comes, as it soon must, before the Imperial Parliament, is contained and illustrated in this thoroughly-informed and eloquent series of speeches.

The general result of the conference which took place between Messrs. McDonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt on the part of the Canadian Government, and the Duke of Somerset, Earl de Grey, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell, on behalf of the Imperial Government, has been communicated to Parliament; but, owing to the absorbing interest of the pending general election, is likely to escape discussion until next year. It is—not so much in what it asserts as what it implies—a formal repudiation of the separatist system of ideas, and an undertaking to support the colonies with all the force of the empire in their present project of Confederation, and in the event of war. Her Majesty's Government will, as soon as the colonies have passed the necessary Acts, propose to the House of Commons an imperial guarantee for the sum of (we believe) eight millions and a half sterling, to be partly applied in defensive works of fortification and part in the construction of the Inter-colonial Railroad, by whose means the colonies may be able to communicate directly with each

other and with the sea at all seasons of the year, instead of being obliged, as now, to pass over the American territory during the long period when the St. Lawrence is frozen. It is a bold act of policy, pregnant with consequences as yet hardly conceived in England at all, and imperfectly, perhaps, even in Canada; but for certain, it places the entire colonial system in a new, more formal, and serious relation with the Imperial Government. It is an intimation to the Government of the United States, which may have a force that was not at all intended when the negotiations on the subject were commenced, that England is as little prepared to recognize the Munroe doctrine north of the St. Lawrence as France is south of the Rio Grande.

To us, apart from its political importance altogether, Catholic interests in North America appear to be not less deeply involved in the consolidation of the Canadian Confederation than in that of the Mexican empire. Canada and Mexico are the two great natural bases of Catholic interests on the Continent. We fear there can be little doubt that in the United States the Church loses more souls than it gains. In the second generation, the faith of the Catholic emigrant is constantly lost. But Lower Canada is as Catholic a country as Ireland itself, and Mexico has hitherto been not merely Catholic as to its population, but Catholic in the very essence of its constitution. The great problems of policy, which in either country remain to be settled, will, therefore, for years yet to come inspire the solicitude, the hopes and the prayers of those who aspire not merely to the temporal prosperity and good government of man, but to the salvation of souls and the glory of God.

Foreign Events of Catholic Interest.

THE first, and it is to be hoped the worst, chapter of the Italian revolution is closed. The transfer of the capital from Turin to Florence is the virtual surrender of Rome, the possession of which was so long the aim and ambition of the revolutionary statesmen of Sardinia. There can no longer be any doubt that the fury of the revolution is abated, or rather that the faith of the Italian people is beginning to assert its right to be consulted as to the principles which shall govern the nation and regulate the relations between the Church and the Government. The last effort of the expiring parliament of Turin, which during its five years' course had sanctioned so many and such flagrant outrages against international rights, against individual liberty, and against religion, was an attempt to suppress all the religious corporations in the country, and to confiscate the whole of their property to the uses of the state. The law of the 29th of May, 1855, had abolished the religious communities of Piedmont, nevertheless the mendicant orders were provisionally tolerated, but the new law was to have extended its operations over all the provinces which had been annexed to Sardinia, with and without the aid of France, and its provisions against religious orders and ecclesiastical property were as destructive and confiscating as could be devised by anti-christian fanaticism and by a bankrupt state. Although the bill was eventually withdrawn, it is as well to record the intentions of the irreligious party which has so long dominated in the Piedmontese Chambers, so that we may know what we have to expect from them in the next parliament, should the Catholics of Italy again allow their advent to power. A committee of the Chamber of Deputies, presided over by Baron Ricasoli, had prepared a bill which enacted a kind of civil constitution for the clergy, suppressed bishoprics, upset the existing management of church property, and entirely abolished all the religious orders throughout Italy. The ministry did not accept the bill proposed by this committee, but under the form of a series of amendments brought in a new one. The difference between the ministerial bill and that supported by the majority of the Piedmontese parliament was that the latter was a radical change affecting the entire organization of the Church in regard to the State, whereas the ministerial bill was content with merely confiscating those religious corporations which were possessed of property. In the course of the debate which ensued, the deputy Crispi suggested that after the recent loan of 425 millions the minister could not be in such great need of money as to lay his hand upon the property of the Church, and moved that the discussion should be postponed till next session, when it would be time enough to see which of

the two propositions was preferable. But the truth is, the Sardinian Governmentis in said straits for money; they have ransacked not only their own possessions but the possessions of others to find wherewithal to satisfy the inordinate cravings of those who helped to bring the revolution of the last few years to a successful issue. The name of these mercenaries is legion. The cry is still for money, more money! The Government has pawned its future income to meet present needs. The crown lands are sold and so are the state railways, but to little purpose. Money has still to be borrowed at a ruinous rate of interest. The prefects in the various provinces, on whom so much depends for the consolidation of the new ill-assorted kingdom, are clamorous for more money. To these officials alone a million of *lire* has been distributed by way of increased pay, or as an indemnity for representing the central authority (*indennità di rappresentanza*).

To those who are familiar with the way in which such revolutions as the Neapolitan are brought about, it is no matter of wonder to hear now of this pressing need of money on the part of the new Italian Government. But the dissension in the Chambers, especially as to the division of the spoils, has deprived the Government of all hope of an immediate appropriation of the property of the Church. It did not need the cynical declaration of Vacca, the Minister of Grace and Justice (whose words are recorded in the official acts of the Chambers), to prove that the motive of the Government in suppressing the religious orders was simply the desire to replenish its exhausted exchequer. This shameless confiscation is being attempted in the face of the will of the Italian people, as expressed by hundreds of petitions and by thousands of signatures.

The petitions to the Chambers for the abolition of the monastic houses were all published in a single volume; whereas those which called for their preservation, arranged in alphabetical order, according to the names of the provinces whence they come, have already filled two volumes, although they have as yet only reached the letter L. From the province of Florence alone it appears that protests have been sent to the Chambers in favour of the religious orders by the inhabitants of eighty-three communes, and from the city itself petitions have gone up with 8,103 signatures, besides two others containing a still larger number of subscriptions which the compilers themselves confess to have gone astray in their hands. The tardiness with which the petitions are published, and the number which have altogether disappeared in the course of publication, are signal instances of the want of good faith displayed by the Piedmontese officials. The *Unità Cattolica* of the 28th of April gives a long list of petitions, no fewer than thirty-six from thirty-two different localities, which have been unaccountably lost. Of all these lost petitions, it adds, and of others which we have mentioned, account ought to be taken in the total list of petitions as subjoined:—*Petitions against the suppression of religious orders.*—Laymen, 114,593; ecclesiastics, 7,765; those who cannot write, 33,001; women, 15,329; signatures made by the same hand, 6,852; total, 177,540. *Petitions taking exception against a general suppression.*—Corporations, 97; laymen, 5,812; ecclesiastics, 230; total, 6,139; adding this total to the preceding one we have, without counting all the lost petitions, 183,679 citizens or corporate bodies opposed to the general suppression

of convents voted by the Chamber of Deputies. That is to say, there are many thousands more of citizens who are opposed to the abolition of religious orders than there are electors who have sent deputies to parliament. *Petitions in favour of a general suppression.*—Corporations, 45; associations, 30; popular assemblies, 15; laymen, 15,416; ecclesiastics, 81; total of signatures, 15,572. From this it appears that those in favour of the abolition are 15,572, and those against it count 183,679. This list, at any rate, sufficiently demonstrates that it is false that the will of the people is clearly in favour of the abolition of the religious bodies. It also appears from the solemn protest of all the members of many convents and monasteries, as well as from a very large number of individual protests which have appeared in the *Armonia*, how false and calumnious is the statement of deputy Macchi, that a very large number, if not the majority, of monks and nuns wished to leave their cloisters and be secularized by the Government. The debate on this measure had many points of interest, particularly as showing the tendencies and principles of those who were set up, or rather set themselves up to regenerate Italy. "The official acts of the elective Chamber," observes the *Civiltà Cattolica*, "will some of these days be a most curious document for our posterity who may wish to study the parliamentary and political history of the new kingdom of Italy. They will suffice, at least, to show the *kind of moral order* which was restored by the Freemasons in Italy."* In their attempt to carry the measure for suppressing the religious orders the Government had to encounter two formidable difficulties. The advanced liberal section of the opposition insisted upon the entire abolition as a matter of principle, but the Government desired to preserve the mendicant orders, not out of respect or love towards these zealous and self-sacrificing monks, or to the numerous souls under their spiritual care, but simply because their suppression, far from conferring a gain, would entail a loss upon the exchequer. They had no property to confiscate. On the shutting up of their monasteries they could not be thrown upon the streets to starve, such a proceeding would excite a tumult in every city; they would, therefore, have to receive the same small pension as those monks whose land and possessions went to stock the empty coffers of an extravagant and almost bankrupt State. But the opposition denounced in biting terms the Government for converting a grand measure of reform, a matter of principle, into a mere financial operation.

The ministry met a still more formidable difficulty in the project for the ultimate disposal of the spoils arising out of the confiscation of monastic property. In the teeth of the opposition from all sides and sections of the Chamber, the Government were unable, as they desired, to leave to a future day the consideration of the ultimate destination of the property, far less to appropriate it, as they wanted, to the immediate use of the State. It was proposed by the opposition that all the monastic possessions should pass into the hands of Government, and be converted into the national funds at par, instead of at their real value of 65, giving a clear gain of 35 per cent. to the exchequer. It was then proposed that out of the funds thus obtained the

* *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 20th May, 1865.

pensions should be paid to the monks for their maintenance and for the maintenance of public worship in their churches ; the surplus then should be divided into two equal moieties ; one for the benefit of the State, and the other to be divided between the communes in which the suppressed houses and properties were situated, and the provinces, at the rate of one-third to the communes and two-thirds to the respective provinces.

This division was proposed in the hope of staying the agitation which prevailed in those districts and provinces against the suppression of the convents and against the absorption by the State of so much corporate property. In Tuscany and in Sicily, where the monastic properties are largest, and the influence of the monks is perhaps greatest, it was feared the immediate suppression would excite popular tumults, and provoke a resistance not easily, under existing circumstances, to be appeased or put down. All attempts to hit upon a means of reconciling the various views of the majority of the Chambers, and the proposals of the Government having fallen to the ground, the Minister presented a royal decree to the Chamber authorizing the Ministers of Justice and of Finance to withdraw the bill on ecclesiastical property.

Thus, owing to a spirit of disunion among the spoliators, the confiscation of the property of the Church and the destruction of the monastic orders in Italy is for a while deferred. But the attempt is to be renewed with redoubled vigour in the new Parliament. The temptation to enrich the State at the expense of the Church must for a long time beset every finance minister in impoverished Italy ; at the same time the opportunity to gratify this propensity will be made easy to him by the support he will find in the infidel party, who desire the destruction of monasteries as a means towards the overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope, and of religion itself. It is now more than ever necessary for those who have any regard for religion to bestir themselves to prevent the public mind from being debauched by the incessant and infamous calumnies of that party which in Italy as in France lets no opportunity slip to pander to the corruptions of the heart and to the pride of the intellect.

The defence of the inalienable rights and of the independence of the Church is the best warfare which can be waged against all such moral and intellectual perversions. With the singleness of mind which is so characteristic of the rulers of the Church, the Pope has taken an important step towards this end, in addressing a letter to "Victor Emmanuel II." on the subject of nominating bishops to the vacant sees in Italy. In moving terms the Pope deplored the widowed state of so many sees, and besought the King, out of respect to the religious welfare of the Italian people, to put an end to such an anomalous state of things. The King at once opened negotiations with the Holy See on this subject by sending Vegezzi, a man of moderate views and of a religious disposition, to Rome, where he was kindly received by the Pope in a private interview. In such a negotiation difficulties of course were sure to arise, but in spite of the opposition of the majority of the Cabinet, they are not likely, whatever delays or interruptions may arise, to prove ultimately insuperable, since Victor Emmanuel himself appears anxious in this particular to respect the rights and meet the wishes of the Holy See. Negotiations of a delicate

character are now said to be pending as to the claims of the *de facto* king to have an oath of allegiance administered to bishops appointed to sees in the dominions now in his possession, but belonging by right to sovereigns thrust by revolutionary violence from their thrones. The solution of such questions is to be left with implicit confidence to the judgment of the Sovereign Pontiff. On the one hand we may be sure that no principle will suffer loss by his decision, on the other, that the good of religion will not be sacrificed to political considerations or to dynastic interests.

The interpellations in the Turinese Chambers as to these negotiations are not without grave interest. The representatives of the party of action professed to be alarmed that the Italian Government, in the desire of conciliating Rome, were sacrificing the rights of Italy. It was again and again asserted that the law against the convents was withdrawn out of deference to the wishes of the Pope. One deputy went so far as to assert that "the Catholic party had conquered without fighting." Another set up the theory that as all official communications between the Court of Rome and the State were broken, all those obstacles were consequently removed which the rigorous observance of concordats threw in the way of the Government, and that, indeed, concordats were not binding on the legislature. In answer to the argument that "the settlement of the relations between the Church and the State in virtue of the 18th article of the Constitution, was a prerogative of the Crown, to be exercised independently of all influence of Parliament whatsoever," the same deputy who had ascribed to the Chamber the power of breaking concordats at its will whenever it found them inconvenient, declared that he regarded as of no force whatever arrangements the King might enter into with the Holy See on religious matters. And he based his opinion on the ground that the prerogatives established by the 18th article of the Constitution were of the same nature as all other prerogatives which belonged to a constitutional king. These prerogatives could not be exercised by the king in a constitutional country but on the responsibility of ministers, who were responsible to Parliament (what a truly Whig doctrine this, as to the prerogatives of the Crown, in the mouth of a Sardinian deputy). This deputy, so liberal in disposing of the rights and prerogatives of others, was equally so in regard to property, for he finished by declaring that there were many archiepiscopal and episcopal sees and other benefices in the royal patronage, producing a very considerable amount of rents, which ought to be converted to objects of public utility. In reply to these and other interpellations, Vacca, the Minister of Grace and Justice, thus described the character of the negotiations with Rome:—"The Holy Father," he said, "has thought fit to make certain propositions with the design of coming to an understanding with the Government of the King concerning the nominations to the vacant sees and other matters purely affecting spiritual affairs and the interests of the Catholic Church. Ought the Government to hesitate an instant to accept such propositions? Could it draw back from the duty of treating questions which, inasmuch as they intimately concerned spiritual matters, could not fail to excite the attention of the great majority of the population of the kingdom? Could it decline an invitation which was caused by a want keenly felt on the part of the Catholics, and which, on the other hand, impinged in

no manner on the political question between us and the Court of Rome? Could we refuse a proposition coming from the venerated Head of the Catholic religion, and concerning above all Catholic interests?"

At the same time the Minister Lanza issued a circular to the prefects, stating that the withdrawal of the bill against convents was in nowise owing to the negotiations opened with Rome; and that he firmly intended in the next session to bring in again the Convent Abolition Bill. He further declared that the Government would not fail in its duty of jealously guarding the rights and the laws of the State and the prerogatives of the Crown, and of maintaining intact the political questions, which were not to be confounded with the religious question.

These ministerial declarations, however, it must be remembered, were made in the face of a hostile Chamber, and in the presence of a revolutionary party in the country which loses no opportunity to excite the popular passions, and cannot, therefore, be taken as representing the exact state of things. The truth is, Victor Emmanuel and a minority in the Cabinet are anxious, in the interests of the monarchy itself, for a reconciliation with Rome and with religion. They have raised the spectre of the revolution in the country which they know not how to lay. The demoralization of Italy has made rapid progress in the last few years. To stay this progress before it is too late is now the policy and the hope of the King, and of some of the more far-seeing of his advisers. Victor Emmanuel fears the party of action. He sees in their projects the loss of his throne and the destruction of his dynasty. The King wants to break with the revolution and to be reconciled with Rome. In the coming elections he must rely on the one party or the other—on those who wish to preserve law, order, and religion; or on those who are sworn by fraud or by violence to upset the Papacy and to extirpate religion. The King and his advisers have a difficult task to perform; they have played too long with the revolution, and benefited too largely by its successes, easily to resist its persuasions or break from its entanglements. But the mission of Vegezzi to Rome is an evidence of a desire to repair the injuries and outrages done to religion both in the Sardinian States and in the new kingdom; it is a pledge of a return to a better state of things, and it gives a hope for the future of Italy. This important step was taken, too, without the intermediary of France. The Pope has been true to the answer with which he always put aside the proposals of Napoleon,—“Let us await events.” He waited with confidence for the favourable opportunity; and no sooner did he see a disposition in Victor Emmanuel to retrace, in howsoever slight a degree, his false steps, than, forgetful of all the wrongs perpetrated against the sovereign rights of the Holy See, the Pope at once invited him to come to an understanding on those matters which so nearly affected the interests of religion throughout the whole of Italy. The Pope thus gave in his own person an illustrious example of the principle which he recently expressed, that in these times of trial especially it was the duty of Catholics to combine an exclusive faith with an expansive charity. The negotiations thus set on foot are said not to have disappointed the Pope's expectations, and that during their course Victor Emmanuel has shown himself perfectly anxious to repair,

in some measure, the injury he has done to the temporal power of the Church. In the first instance it seemed as if the success of these negotiations would have been delayed on a question of form. The Italian Government demanded that Signor Vegezzi should present himself at the Vatican as the Plenipotentiary of the King of Italy; but it had to give up this point, and be satisfied that the Pope accorded to Signor Vegezzi the title of Confidential Envoy of the King Victor Emmanuel.

The proposed Convention is to have no diplomatic character. It is asserted that in place of a treaty, of a bilateral contract, the two parties are to exchange letters: the one containing the propositions of the King, the other their acceptance by the Pope. The contemplated arrangement is in substance the renewal of the concordats which previously existed in the various States of Italy.

Whatever may be the after effect of this approximation between Victor Emmanuel and the Holy See, its immediate result, if successful, cannot fail to be of immense importance, in the return of so many exiled bishops—confessors in the cause of truth and justice—to the sees so long deprived of their guardianship. Their return, too, in honour, and without compromise of principle, may not be without its influence on the popular mind. It is nevertheless important to remember how much the Church in Italy has suffered in the last few years from the tyranny of the Revolution, and how many dioceses may now be benefited by the act of the Pope in taking the initiative in the Vegezzi negotiations. According to the statistics which have lately been published in the *Unità Cattolica*, it appears that since 1860 the following twelve prelates were condemned by the Piedmontese tribunals:—The Cardinal Archbishop of Imola, the Archbishop of Turin, the Bishops of Faenza, Mondovi, Saluzzo, Piacenza, Parma, Fossombrone, Foggia, the Capitular Vicar of Bologna, and the Vicar-General of Naples. Police regulations of a persecuting and vexatious character were put in force against the Cardinal Archbishops of Ancona and of Sesi; the Archbishops of Urbino, Spoleto, Camerino; the Archbishops of Conza, Borsano, Sorrente; the Bishops of Fano, Guastalla, of Valle Capaccio, and of Anglona-Tursi. Seventeen sees are vacant by death, and the vacancies have been left purposely unfilled. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Pisa, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Fermo, the Bishops of Piacenza, Avellino, and the Capitular-Vicar of Milan, have been transported to Turin. Still living in exile from their sees are the Cardinal-Archbishop of Naples, and forty-one other archbishops, and bishops, and abbots, whose names it would be tedious to detail, as episcopal banishment affords, unfortunately, no longer in Italy an exceptional claim to public attention. Seventeen other prelates, including in that number the Archbishops elect of Milan, of Ravenna, and Bologna, were prevented by the Sardinian Government from taking possession of their sees and metropolitan cathedrals. In this list of proscriptions are contained nearly a hundred names—the flower of the Italian Episcopacy, and more than the third of its entire number. Who shall say what spiritual loss millions of Catholics have not suffered from the enforced absence of their supreme guides and teachers? Especially great has been the danger in these troublous times, when so many, and such satanic, attempts have been

made to appeal, through the intellect and the senses, to the pride and to the worst passions of the human mind.

Whatever opinion Louis Napoleon may have of the negotiations touching the spiritual interests of Italy, which, without his advice or knowledge, have been commenced between Rome and Victor Emmanuel, it is certain that Francis II. is gratified by the hope that at least some of the wounds which have been inflicted on his unhappy country may at last be healed, and in a manner, too, so as not unfairly to compromise his just claims to the throne of Naples. The more, indeed, religion recovers its rights and influence, the greater is the likelihood of a return to a sense of justice in the governing classes, and to such a reaction against revolutionary principles as can alone lead to a restoration of the legitimate Princes to their usurped kingdoms and principalities. And even if this were not so, the restoration of religion, without the sacrifice of any principle, is, of course, of infinitely more importance than any political considerations or dynastic interests whatsoever.

If, eventually, the new Italian State is to consolidate itself, and to escape the possibly impending horrors of a bloody and impious revolution, it can only be a speedy and thorough understanding with the Holy See—not only as regards the spiritual interests of the Church, but also as to the civil rights and dominions of the Papacy. But such a reconciliation can only be brought about by a rejection of revolutionary principles; and such a rejection would involve a struggle to the bitter end with the impious sectaries and revolutionists, who are as much the enemies of all social order as they are of religion. But if the Government of Florence have the good will, it surely has the strength, with the aid of religion, and the moral support of Rome and of all conservative society in Europe, to come victorious out of such a struggle.

What compromises, in the interests of religion and for the good of society, may eventually be necessary to save Italy from the destroying, though, perhaps purifying, furnace of the revolution, are surely worth the making. Men, now-a-days, affect to speak lightly of the revolution, as if society were so civilised as to make men incapable of committing the horrors and abominations perpetrated in the last century. But as beneath a polished skin lurks many a ferocious beast, so in society to-day, beneath a thin covering of smooth and philanthropic phrases, is to be found a hatred and fear in the wide-spread revolutionary party in Italy, as in France, in Belgium, and in some parts of Germany, which are capable on such a provocation, as, for instance, the return of Italy to the paths of religious and of political order, of breaking out in such an ungovernable fury as to show how far even in this age of high but superficial civilization the malice of man can go. To enchain this wild beast of impiety and demagoguery in Italy men may be called upon to sacrifice, or to compromise at least, some of their rights. Such a compromise, only to be tolerated on the most urgent and sacred need, is yet one, as it seems to us, of the eventual conditions of the restoration of order and religion in Italy. Such a compromise is by no means to be taken as a tacit homage to the success of the revolution, but as a condition of its progress being checked, and of its principles being crushed out by those who have most profited by its successful crimes.

Without the sanction and countenance of the Pope the new Italian State cannot consolidate itself; its enemies are so fierce and numerous that it needs the active support and the strength it can alone find in the Catholic party. But this effective sanction the Holy See can bestow only on a State which has ceased to violate the principles of public justice, and has come to terms of agreement with those princes who have been dispossessed of their territories by the force of the Revolution. But for Italy, left to its own forces, without a thorough reconciliation, political as well as religious, with Rome, there are three probable contingencies. Either by its inherent weakness, or by the gradual growth of sound political and religious principles in the governing classes, Italy may return to the *status ante quo*, and to a complete restoration of the dispossessed princes; but such an operation, if even possible under existing circumstances, would at least be of so slow a character as almost to deprive it of a reasonable chance of success. Or, secondly, the aggressive and restless ambition of the new State, governed on revolutionary principles, may provoke the avenging sword of Austria, and the restoration would then depend on the fearful issue of a European war. Or, in the third and more probable contingency, Italy would fall a prey to the wild anarchy of revolution, in which would be let loose in all their horrors the long pent up social, religious, and political passions, not of Italy only, but of all Europe. The result of perhaps the most fearful encounter Christian society would have had to sustain would leave Italy exhausted and nerveless at the feet of its conquerors, but with the memory of deeds which it would make any sacrifice to be able to forget.

It would seem, therefore, the first duty of Catholics to do all in their power to save their country from such an impending calamity. The purification of Italy by fire and sword, and by all the dread horrors and crimes of a civil and religious war, is not a contingency to be lightly spoken of or lightly wished for. It is the last scourge in God's hands for an impenitent and fallen nation. But in spite of the crimes and injustice of the revolution, Italy has surely not yet come to such a pitch; on the contrary, there are symptoms of reaction setting in in the court and in the country.

The Pope has taken advantage of this tendency to attempt to bring about an amelioration in the religious relations of the new State to the Church; and Catholic politicians in Italy ought at once to avail themselves of this turn in the state of things to form a strong and really Catholic party in the new Chambers. In the impending elections, the influence of the clergy would be of incalculable service in securing good candidates, and in bringing voters to the poll. The policy of abstention on the part of good Catholics and royalists from public affairs seems, under existing circumstances, a fatal mistake. Such a policy, proposed by short-sighted but well-meaning men, was pursued under somewhat similar circumstances by the legitimists in France, by the Carlists in Spain, and by the Miguelists, with perhaps greater justification, in Portugal. Its results were disastrous. In either country the reins of Government fell for a long series of years into the hands of the revolutionists. The Church was persecuted and plundered; the nations were corrupted. The fate of revolutionary Spain, and of Portugal, and of France itself, the alternate victim of democracy and of Caesarism, ought to serve as a warning to the

Catholic and royalist party in Italy. In the approaching elections, care ought to be taken to secure a real representation of the wishes and feelings of the people. The large mass of the Italian population are sincerely attached to the Church and to the religious institutions of the country. Surely, it is the duty of the leaders of the people in the interests of the Church and of society, to give expression to this faith and attachment in the most public and effective manner. The Turinese Chambers represented in no manner the feelings and principles of the people. It was a packed Parliament. According to the electoral law, each deputy represents 50,000 citizens. But from a recent examination it appears that in forty electoral colleges, representing about two millions of citizens, there were only 41,497 registered electors; that is to say that but little more than two per cent. of the population had put forward their claim of electing representatives; and of this number not much more than half actually voted. To remedy such a grievous state of things let the royalists and good Catholics come forward to a man in the pending elections. We by no means underrate, firstly, the difficulty of the task, nor, secondly, the numbers and power of the revolutionary and irreligious party. It is difficult for men attached to the royalist cause, and to the fallen dynasties of Italy, to give up all hope of a speedy restoration, and, by taking an active part in public life in support of the principles of order and of religion, postpone the cause of legitimacy to the duty of saving their country from the wild anarchy of revolution. Such men must do violence to their feelings and personal sympathies; but by such a course they make no sacrifice of principle. For the lesser must yield to the higher principle; and if society and religion can alone be saved from great injury and permanent loss by the present sacrifice of the royalist cause, undoubtedly that cause must be sacrificed. On the other hand, the policy of inaction is simpler and safer. It has been often tried. It is no innovation on party traditions. But is such a policy always wise, is it always just? The universal abstention of Royalists and good Catholics is a terrible, we will not call it revenge, but punishment on their enemies. It may ruin a usurping monarch, but sometimes not before it has inflicted an injury upon society and religion, which may take generations of good government to repair. No man has a right to put society, far less religion, to such an ordeal. If, as it seems to us, the public good at the present juncture calls for the participation of Royalists and good Catholics in the elections and in the Chambers, the cause of legitimacy, however dear to them and however sacred in principle, is not a duty under the existing circumstances of Italy, so imperative as to warrant their abstention. And, secondly, in the performance of this primary duty we do not misconceive the character and extent of the opposition they may have to encounter. The presence and political activity of the Catholic party will rouse all the fury of the revolutionists. Victor Emmanuel, even if he wish it, may not be able to break with his former friends. He is surrounded by ill-advisers: his cabinet is divided. Prince Napoleon, the Imperial revolutionist, is his step-son, and should the king yield to evil influences, and refuse to be reconciled to Rome, the Catholics in the Chambers may have again to encounter the hostility of a revolutionary government as well as that of the open enemies of religion; and these enemies of religion

and of civil society in Italy are numerous and well organized. Already they have raised their voice, declaring that "between Italy and the Pope only one reconciliation is possible, the absolute separation of the two powers founded on the political unity of the nation." *

Another still more furious Mazzinian organ,† speaking of the illustrious Archbishop of Naples, says that "to enthrone archbishops and bishops of this party the Government must have them accompanied by entire regiments, and even then they will not succeed, for between the purpose and its fulfilment will occur *too many days of September.*"

The Masonic lodges are organizing meetings in some of the large towns, but hitherto with very little success, to protest against reconciliation with Rome. Perambulating companies, as Sig. Massimo d'Azeglio terms them, traverse the country to raise an agitation against the Vegezzi negotiations, but they find little or no response from the nation. The mass of the people are quiet, and look with a favourable eye to a reconciliation with Rome. The more respectable newspapers speak hopefully of a return to a wholesomer state of things than that which has so long threatened the peace of the country. The opposition comes from professional agitators, and finds its only support in the extreme political parties, in a few obscure municipal councils, and in the universities of Bologna, Naples, Pisa, and Modena.

If, however, the Government of Victor Emmanuel yield to a noisy and violent faction, or to secret intrigues, and if out of timidity or reluctance, springing from no matter what motive, the well-disposed allow the leadership of the country to fall into the hands of the revolutionary party, who shall say how long society in Italy, already so disturbed, shall hold together? Lawlessness will succeed violence, respect for religion and order will altogether disappear, and revolutionized Italy will approach that state which precedes social anarchy. Even the *Times* is already forced to complain of some of the results of the revolutionary rule which has for five years prevailed in Italy. "Ten years ago," it says, "when the Bourbon ruled in Naples and the Austrian in Lombardy, an English gentleman in search of health or pleasure might travel all over Italy without the fear of greater inconvenience than might be inflicted by passports, mosquitoes, internal custom-houses, bad roads, and extortionate innkeepers. Since then Italy has regenerated herself, has thrown off her tyrants, and has actually burdened herself with an enormous debt in the maintenance of an army designed for the purpose of defence externally and internally. But Italy's army, though enough to ruin her finances, is insufficient for the protection of her own people or of the strangers who visit her shores from brutal violence and spoliation."

The Pope has pointed out to the Government of Florence, as the sole remedy to the anarchy which threatens civil as well as religious life in Italy, the reconciliation of the country with Rome, and a return to Catholic principles of government. Is the Government wise enough to accept the Pope's offer, and act up to its spirit? That is the Italian question which is now under discussion. The Pope has shown his appreciation of the vast importance and the difficulties attending these negotiations, in the reply

* *Il Diritto*, 4th May.

† *La Gazzetta del Popolo*.

which he gave to the address presented to him by Cardinal Mattei. "The course of the Pontificate," he says, "is full of difficulties and dangers, and the Pontiff has really need of God's assistance." He then compares such as are seduced from justice by the ideas of unity and glory, to the Israelites who separated from the prophet Samuel to appeal to King Saul, and who found in place of unity division, in place of glory affliction without end. "Let us abandon," the Sovereign Pontiff concludes, "every idea of personal satisfaction, to devote ourselves to the interests of God and His Church. Let us defend sacred interests by our word and by our works, and if we cannot accomplish more, we shall thus obtain a crown not fragile, but unchangeable and immortal."

After the masterly and exhaustive manner in which M. Thiers treated the Roman question, and the logical force which he showed in proving from a political point of view the necessity of the maintenance of the civil dominions of the Pope, it would seem almost impossible that any discussion of fresh interest could be extracted out of this subject. But such is not the case. M. de Persigny has visited Rome, and with a flippancy which seems peculiar to the politicians who now govern France, announces that he has discovered the solution of the Italian difficulty. M. de Persigny has an idea which he hastens to impart, not only to M. Troplong, the President of the Senate, but to the whole world. His idea is that in the times in which we live the exercise of political sovereignty by a priest is very difficult, if not impossible; whereas at the time when this kind of sovereignty was established it was natural and easily exercised. Ecclesiastical government is feudal in its origin and character, and was in harmony with the requirements and ideas of the times, when a suzerain prince, whether ecclesiastic or lay, might be very rich and very powerful without having to mix himself up with the administration of his State. But when the feudal system disappeared, then, according to M. de Persigny, the public mind was struck by the incompatibility between the priesthood and the functions of government. "The people," to give M. de Persigny's own words, "were shocked to see the priests of a religion whose kingdom is not of this world mixed up in all the interests, in all the passions of the world, governing them, directing them; and this spectacle scandalizing every day more and more the minds of men, it came to pass under the influence of public opinions that, step by step, all the ecclesiastical sovereignties disappeared from Europe. The Pope alone, owing to the superior prestige of his position, survives for a time the universal overthrow of ecclesiastical sovereignties, but soon he in his turn feels the ground, once so solid to his predecessors, shake beneath his feet. We were astonished to see the Sovereign Pontiff forced to have recourse to foreign troops to keep down his own subjects. To obtain an artificial security, the chief of the Guelphs was reduced to become a Gibelline. He who had been so long the protector of Italy against the Germanic Caesars delivered Italy to its enemies and condemned it to slavery." It is not necessary to point out the transparent fallacies of M. de Persigny's hasty generalizations, nor will we retort on this disingenuous writer that the Germanic Caesar who has delivered the temporal power of the Pope into the hands of his enemies has his throne no longer on the other side of the Rhine. It is M. de Persigny's idea that the events

which have taken away its eastern provinces from the Holy See are, in truth, a providential intervention, inasmuch as now they make it possible to maintain, at one and the same time, the temporal power at Rome and the unity of Italy. We are now coming to the pith and kernel of his idea, but it was not worth the trouble of picking off the husk, for it has nothing new to offer nor is it sound in substance. The Papal provinces were necessary, he argues, for the unity of Italy, and were injurious to the Pope, "inasmuch as sacerdotal government is contrary to the interests of modern civilization, and because the intervention of the priest, in the name of religion, in all the affairs of civil life is injurious to the liberty and dignity of the citizen." And another cause as potent, he adds, is the prodigious movement which is carrying on the whole nation towards its new destinies, and Rome lives of the life of Italy. "The idea, then," he concludes from all this, "which seems to me would be accepted with the greatest favour at Rome, is that the subjects of the Pope should be considered as Italians, that, though preserving their character as Roman citizens, they might enter the public service of Italy in all capacities, civil as well as military, move about freely, and without the impediments of custom-house officers and police regulations, as veritable Italians; and that, lastly, Rome, under the Pontifical government, should be as a neutral territory, a sacred asylum, in the heart of the common country where the two sentiments—veneration for the Holy Father and love for Italy—might blend themselves in a common aspiration." In what does this grand idea of M. de Persigny's, stripped of its pompous verbiage, differ, we should like to know, from About's famous proposition of the Vatican and a garden where the Pope might meditate on the ruins of Rome? The revolutionary principle is parent of both ideas; in the same spirit it is proposed to sacrifice the inalienable rights of the Papacy to what are called by both the exigencies of modern civilization. This idea, with which M. de Persigny was inspired on his visit to Italy, and which was to have solved every difficulty, seems to have found no countenance at Rome, for the correspondent of M. Troplong becomes abusive and impertinent. He declares that the Pope, the Cardinals, the congregations, the Government, are under the yoke of a party organized ever so long ago at Rome by the enemies of France—a party which in its hatred of her civil legislature would stake without scruple against what it calls the revolution, the safety of twenty Popes; and which, master of all the instruments of the spiritual power, has no other thought than to make use of them for the disorganization of France and the triumph of her enemies. The writer of this letter, which is to enlighten the world as to the true state of things at Rome, describes this party (which he calumniates, more, perhaps, through ignorance than malice, as often as he speaks of them) as composed of a host of deacons, sub-deacons, monsignori, priests, monks, princes, nobles, advocates, &c., scattered up and down in the numerous congregations which form in some sort so many sections of a vast council of state; he tells his correspondent to figure to himself this administration of the spiritual government of the universe with its three or four thousand subordinates, ecclesiastic or lay, at Rome, and its fifteen thousand agents or correspondents abroad, and then to reflect that all this hierarchy, that all this vast organization, is agitated by the same idea, moved by the

same passion, and that it marches to the same end, and then not to be astonished at the impotence of the Pope, although the wisest and the holiest of men, to subdue such an agglomeration of forces. M. de Persigny then adds, with a touch of malice in his pen, that this conspiracy in the bosom of the Papacy against the sole power which protects it, and can protect it, has for fifteen years made the common Father of the Faithful the instrument of its political passions, and which, out of repugnance to its social state, has never ceased to calumniate a nation whose character, whose grandeur, and whose virtues it has no knowledge of. Still, speaking of those eminent Catholics, clerical or lay, who, in Rome or out of it, will not abate one jot or tittle of the temporal rights of the Papacy in favour of the revolution, at the bidding of no matter what agents, M. de Persigny has the audacity to say, "that the great name of Providence which they invoke on all occasions, and to whom they refer the solution of all difficulties, has no other signification in their minds than the fatalism of the Turk." Again, he adds, as if his vexation at the contempt which befell his great idea knew no bounds, that the faction which governs at Rome understands nothing, listens to nothing, and wishes for nothing, but for that which flatters its passions; and if, he adds, they should drag the Pope again into exile, France will look quietly on at the departure of the Pope and his followers. It will establish at Rome a Provisional Government to administer the States of the Church in the name of the Pope, and to make, in his absence, the necessary reforms, and so reorganize the Government as to conciliate the interests of the Papacy with the Italian sentiments of the people; and then patiently await the day when it shall please the Pope to remount the throne of his predecessors, freed from all causes which could have compromised its security.

Such is the notable scheme which, with we know not what motive, M. de Persigny proposes as a solution of the Roman question. Its effect would be, whatever the motive, to sacrifice every temporal right which the Holy See possesses to the Revolution. If, however, the Pope refuse to accept the nominal sovereignty which M. de Persigny proposes, as best befitting his ecclesiastical dignity in these days of advanced civilization, then he threatens Rome with a Provisional Government, which shall not only make a clean sweep of the laws and customs of the Roman Government, but of the very principles on which they were founded, and which have made Rome, for a thousand years and more, the supreme guardian of right and justice. After the work of "reorganization" has been thoroughly accomplished by a Provisional Government—i.e. the so-called Roman National Committee—M. de Persigny will allow the Pope to return to Rome, but then only as the servant, with the tiara on his head, of the Revolution. To this scheme of a shadowy sovereignty at the Vatican, we infinitely prefer the bold revolutionary programme enunciated at Ajaccio, which demands the absolute destruction of the temporal power of the Pope as a necessary consequence of Solferino and Magenta. The sweeping and subversive theories which Prince Napoleon deduced from the precepts and example of Napoleon the Great, and which he paraded to the world as the only principles such as the France of the Napoleons could either recognize or sanction, either at home or in its relations with Europe, have been emphatically disavowed by the Emperor in the face

of France and of Europe. The revolutionary Prince has been silenced, and has fallen into disgrace; but the lesser offender, in point of rank, has escaped, or is left to be silenced and chastised by the Catholics of Europe, whom he has so grossly insulted and outraged. There is one remarkable passage, however, in M. de Persigny's letter, in which, like the Sibyl of old, he is forced, as it were against his will, to bear testimony to the truth. Speaking of the Mazzinian idea of making Rome the capital of the new kingdom, he says:—"Such a pretension of modern Italy in the presence of Pagan Rome would be as puerile as in the presence of Catholic Rome it would be odious. In the midst of that innumerable quantity of churches, of religious monuments of every sort and of such magnificence, what would Italy do? Would she become pious or infidel? No; between these two cities, Rome Pagan and Rome Catholic, which run parallel with one another, crowd upon one another, and so entangle themselves, there is no room for a political capital, and my astonishment is to-day, since I have seen Rome with my own eyes, that such a question could have been seriously mooted. A consideration, besides, of a higher nature governs the whole of this question, and that is that Rome—Pagan Rome as well as Christian Rome—does not belong to Italy, but to the universe." What people, indeed, can set themselves up as the exclusive heir of ancient Rome? Rome, in spreading itself over the world, to conquer it, has mingled its blood with the barbarians, as the barbarians, in invading Italy, have mixed themselves up with the Romans. We transalpine Gauls—Iberians, Britons, Germans,—we are also as much the children of Rome as the cisalpine Gauls, the Etruscans and the Latins. As they do, and as much as they, we feel coursing in our veins that noble blood—the most glorious blood of history; and as heirs of Rome we can cede the right of precedence to none. It is, then, but just that the cradle of our civilization belong to no people, but that it be the undivided property of all the European peoples—a neutral ground, where all coming to visit the tombs of their common ancestors may give one another the hand. In regard to Catholic Rome our right is still more striking. The capital of the Christian world—the seat of the spiritual Government of all the Catholics of the universe—cannot belong exclusively to one particular State. Constituted, organized, enriched for centuries by the piety of the faithful of the entire world, Rome must remain the property, the centre, the common appendage of all the Catholic powers. We accept this principle of M. de Persigny, that for the sake of the fitness of things, and in the interests of Catholic piety, Revolutionary Italy must forego Rome for its capital; but does not M. de Persigny see that this principle concludes with still greater force that, for the sake of the independent sovereignty of the Pope, so necessary to the good government of the Church, Italy ought to restore the provinces it has annexed, as constituting the most important element of such an independent sovereignty? In the name of the principle he has evoked, M. de Persigny ought to work for the restitution of those Papal provinces which were seized by Sardinia, with the connivance, at least, of his imperial master.

In the midst of these political conflicts, which are so exciting the minds of imperial princes and ministers, the Freemasons of Paris as of Italy, of

Belgium as of Spain and Portugal, are not idle. In the lodges of Paris, assembled to elect a Grand Master, a discussion has been raised as to the existence or non-existence of a God. After a solemn debate, it was carried, we believe, by a small majority, that the masonic rules should admit, as heretofore, the existence of a supreme Being. Between the deist and the atheistical journals of Paris a fierce and shameless controversy has been waged on the fitness of such a decision, much to the disedification and scandal of the public. At the same time, a petition, emanating from a like source, has been presented to the Senate, praying that it would, by a solemn declaration, affirm the legality of the marriage of apostate priests. The claim of the petition was based on the principle of the equality of all in the eye of the law, and on the principle of the liberty of worships, of which the State was the guardian. The reporter of the committee to which the petition had been referred, showed that the codes of Justinian had declared the illegality of the marriage of priests, and that numerous councils had pronounced the absolute nullity of all such marriages. Those laws had always been in force under the monarchy of France. This prohibition was removed after the revolution of 1789; by a decree of the 19th of July, 1793, the bishops who attempted to place an obstacle in the way of the marriage of priests were punished by transportation. But in spite of all these persecutions, the great majority of the clergy remained faithful to the laws of the Church; and even in the midst of that society shaken by revolutionary laws, there always existed a profound repugnance against married priests. Napoleon the First, when he promulgated the concordat, re-established the rules prescribed by the Church under the monarchy, and notably those relating to the ordination of priests and the vow of celibacy. The committee had examined the matter in regard to the constitutional principles of the State, and it could not discover how equality before the law and the liberty of conscience and of worship were menaced by the interdiction of Catholic priests to contract marriage. The priest had contracted a voluntary obligation as the condition of entering the ministry and of acquiring its privileges. Was it contended, the speaker asked, that a premium should be conferred on apostasy; and was it thus that the principle of equality before the law was understood? The petitioner was no less in error when he spoke of an infringement of the liberty of worship and of conscience. It was necessary for religion that its secular traditions should be enforced, and for the priest that he should not be permitted to withdraw from obligations which he had imposed on himself. Condemned by religion, reprobated by public opinion, should the apostate priest be protected by the law? That, indeed, would be the most grievous of scandals. What liberty, said the reporter to the committee, in conclusion, would it be for the father to see his daughter entrapped into a marriage which he abhorred? As a citizen he would regard his family degraded by a marriage which the public conscience reprobated; as a Christian, his daughter in his eyes would be no more than a concubine, devoted to a life of infamy and to eternal punishment. To sacrifice the family to a refractory priest, would not be to respect liberty. The petition, as based on principles which were condemnatory of it, was unanimously rejected by the Senate.

The active recognition of Christian principles is one of the results of the

union of the Church in France to the State—a union which so many Catholic liberals regard as a less benefit to society and to Christianity than the masonic principles of liberty which the Belgian Constitution confers and sanctions. Under the ægis of the Government at this very moment, an attack, fiercer than ever, is being made by the Freemasons of Belgium against the right of Catholics to possess exclusive cemeteries, and against the right of the Church to possess and manage its own property. The liberals demand that a law should be enacted to throw open all the Catholic cemeteries to the common use of Jews, dissenters, and atheists; in a word, that they should, in violation of the right of property and the laws of the Constitution, be converted into State cemeteries, in which every citizen should have the right of being buried. As to the property of the Church, the Freethinkers of the Belgian Chambers have brought in a bill which has for its object the nationalization of all ecclesiastical properties. According to its provisions, the State is to take possession of the property of the Church of every description, such as the furniture and rents of every church, its offertory-gifts, its foundation moneys, the sacred vessels and vestments. The vestry, which has the management of the property in every church, shall no longer be nominated by the bishop, but the half of its members shall be appointed by the State. The communal councils are yearly to fix the budget to meet the wants of the Church and to control its expenses. The simple object of all this is to degrade the Church, and to subject, in purely ecclesiastical matters, the spiritual to the temporal authorities, by appointing hostile and impious men to be the judges of things which they have no knowledge of. The free state of Belgium, which, unlike that of France, owes no recognition to Christian principles, and is bound by no canons of the Church, and which pays and patronizes infidel universities, has succeeded in educating a generation of men who are potent no less than willing tools in its hands for the destruction of the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church. “The Catholic statesmen of Belgium,” says an able writer in one of the leading periodicals,* “of Catholic Germany, oppose the law on the temporalities of the Church with all their strength; they aim at obtaining some compromise, some middle course; they meet the Government with counter-propositions. But it will be all of no use. Modern liberalism is harsh and despotic beyond measure.” In this opinion all seem to agree. We have already seen how harsh and despotic it is in Italy, where at this moment the Freemasons and the other secret societies are straining every nerve to its utmost tension to prevent altogether or to retard the negotiations with Rome. If they succeed, as at this moment† there appears to be a great likelihood, in intimidating the

* *Der Katholik*, May, 1865. Mainz.

† As these pages are passing through the press, Reuter's telegraph announces that, to the great satisfaction of the Papal party, the negotiations between Rome and Victor Emmanuel are broken off, and that Signor Vegezzi has returned to Florence, where he took part in a council of the ministers. It is a transparent fallacy to state that the *Papal party* rejoice at the failure of negotiations which the Pope himself initiated; it is also to be hoped that Victor Emmanuel will have sufficient strength to emancipate himself from

ministers or the king from proceeding in the work of a religious reconciliation with the Holy See, the evils which may hereafter befall Italy will lie exclusively on their heads.

It is hardly necessary to pursue any further this vast masonic conspiracy against Christian society and the Catholic faith, which like a network enfolds almost the entire of Europe in its meshes. We will, however, for a moment refer to its most recent intrigues, which are now exciting agitation and disorder in Spain and Portugal. There is a project on foot, concocted in the lodges of Lisbon, to establish an "Iberian Empire," comprising under its dominions Spain and Portugal and their dependencies, and to place at its head the present King of Portugal. There are two special reasons for this project: the one is that it will overthrow the Queen of Spain, who, as a good Catholic and a devoted supporter of the temporal power of the Papacy, is supremely obnoxious to the masonic tribe; the second is that it will, if successful, put the King of Portugal, who is a mere cipher in the hands of the revolutionary junta, into a position of power. Whether successful or not, the mere attempt is spreading agitation through Spain, and thereby weakening the influence of this Catholic State in the politics of Europe, especially in regard to the Italian question. The revolutionary party has a certain hold in some of the large mercantile cities of Spain, in Catalonia, in Barcelona, though in Seville its influence is counterbalanced by the energy and zeal of the ecclesiastical and conservative parties. But the vast mass of the people are sound, and the Carlists, since the defection of Don Juan and the zeal shown by Queen Isabella in the Catholic cause, are now at last beginning to rally round the throne, and give their political support to religion. It is indeed high time, for the attention of the European revolutionary propaganda is now being directed on Spain. Her Catholicism and her fealty to the Pope, are offences which stink in the nostrils of the liberals of Europe; and the Freemasons of Portugal are opening the way for the entrance of the revolutionary forces. The movement is likely to receive, if it has not already received, the underhand support of Napoleon, who would not be sorry to see the Spanish Bourbons swept from the throne, and Napoleonic liberalism installed once again in the Escorial. There would then be one Catholic state the fewer in the world, and not one throne would be left to the Bourbons in Europe.

Against these revolutionary doctrines by which European society is honeycombed, against the growing disregard of public justice, against the antisocial and impious character of the revolution, Europe has been warned by the late Encyclical of the Pope. Forewarned ought to be forearmed. The struggle is inevitable, for the forces are nearly matched. The revolution, though numerically weaker, is well organized and desperate, and can concentrate its forces on any given point as it did in Rome in 1848. It waits its opportunity, and prepares its ground beforehand. It acts with secrecy and effect.

the control of the majority of the Cabinet, which is hostile to Rome, and, relying on the Catholic feeling of the country, carry out the negotiations which he has commenced for the reconciliation of Italy to the Church.

It enlists the passions on its side, and silently corrupts before it openly attacks. It has its rewards and punishments. It has a worship of its own, too, and an initiated hierarchy. It now measures its strength with the Church of God, and seeks a victory over the invincible. We believe with M. Veillot,* "that this age, in conspiring against the Church of Jesus Christ, will leave nothing to posterity so great, so calm, and so strong as the image of Pius IX., priest of Jesus Christ."

* M. Veillot has just published a pamphlet, entitled "*Le Guépier Italien*," of which we have seen only a few extracts in the *Journal des Villes et des Campagnes*. It is an answer to the letter of the Duke de Persigny.

Foreign Periodical Literature.

THE ENCYCLICAL OF DECEMBER 8th, 1864.

Civiltà Cattolica, February 4, 1865.

1.—*Opportuneness of the Encyclical.*

WHOEVER dispassionately considers this late solemn act of pontifical authority in condemnation of the chief errors of the day, cannot fail to perceive the finger of God, or to recognize a striking instance of the benefits which result from the possession of an infallible teacher in the Church. For nothing is so important as the preservation of truth unaltered, the intellect being the light and guide of all moral action. Hence the Incarnate Wisdom even affirmed that to render testimony to the truth was the very object of His coming into the world. The Church carries on Christ's work, and firmly holds aloft the standard of truth. And although her immediate object is supernatural truth, yet for this very reason she is, from time to time, obliged to descend into the circle of natural truths; as often, in fact, as the propagation of error in the natural order strikes at the order of grace, and threatens to subvert the principles of Christian morality. And this, not from any desire of satisfying men's curiosity, but from the strict obligation incumbent on her, as God's appointed teacher of the nations, and as set by Him to be the pillar and ground of the truth.

Since, then, heterodox unbelief, not satisfied with all the evil it had worked in the domain of facts, has carried its inroads into the order of ideas, with the view of overturning human society, by poisoning the very sources of social life, it became indispensably necessary for the Church to defend her children in their peril, and brand with a sentence of reprobation those pernicious and fatal errors with which the enemy seeks to ensnare them. She has thereby benefitted even civil liberty itself, and favoured human progress, if it be true that liberty is incompatible with the slavery of error, and if progress be but advancement in good. For how can the will be free, if the intellect which rules it be not free; and how can the intellect be free, if it be unable to tend to truth, because fettered to its opposite? Can men advance surely towards what is good, if they do not surely know what *is* good?

True progress can be made only in the light of truth. Christian nations, therefore, alone possess its essential condition; the effect of which is secured to them so long only as they follow the Church's infallible teaching: *ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo et reges in splendore ortus tui*. Woe to the world if this benignant and divinely appointed star should withdraw its rays from

our path, even in the earthly civil order ! The human race, abandoned to itself, would wander off into the darkness of corruption and barbarism. Hence we perceive the futility of the objection raised against the opportuneness of the Papal Encyclical, grounded upon its possible evil effect on certain indocile minds, which have erred in good faith, but will now become contumacious in error. The good of the whole community is at stake : what should we think of the physician who, to spare one member, refrained from providing for the health of the whole body ? *

The Encyclical has had two other beneficial effects, that of undeceiving the deluded and that of unmasking the hypocritical. Sad was it, indeed, to see persons of most excellent intentions unwittingly helping to propagate the errors of the day, and the enemies of Christ availing themselves of Rome's silence to inveigle the simple into their ranks, and make use of them in the anti-social and anti-Christian war which they are waging. The infallible and universal Doctor has now spoken ; so that neither of these two evils is henceforth to be dreaded. The Church's children clearly know her mind and judgment on these subjects, while her enemies are compelled to show themselves in their true colours, and proclaim themselves what they are.

2.—Two kinds of naturalism, political and philosophical.

The foundation and principle of all the errors which infect modern society, is the schism, more or less radical, attempted to be made between nature and grace, and between reason and faith, as the reigning Pontiff has already solemnly declared in his Allocution to the bishops gathered round him for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs. Speaking of the leaders of the anti-Christian sect, "These men," he says, "destroy the necessary cohesion which by the will of God unites the natural and supernatural orders."† The Bishop of Poitiers truly observes that the Sovereign Pontiff has here laid his hand on the great sore of our age ; for that it is evident that what is called the modern spirit is the setting up of a claim to live exclusively within the

* The Bishop of Poitiers, who has been justly called the new Hilary of France, has fully answered the alleged difficulty in one of his magnificent synodal instructions upon the errors of the day. See the whole passage quoted at the end of our fifth article.

† "Ab hujusmodi hominibus plane destrui necessarium illam coherentiam quæ, Dei voluntate, intercedit inter utrumque ordinem, qui tum in natura, tum supra naturam est." In his recent letter of encouragement to the Count Solaro della Margarita, on the occasion of the appearance of the second volume of his work, entitled "The Statesman," Pius IX. returns to the same theme. After observing on the intimate connection subsisting by the Creator's dispensation between the natural and supernatural orders, and the subordination of the former to the latter in the promotion of the one end of bringing the human family to true and endless blessedness, he adds, "He, then, who would separate these two orders, he who would remove to a distance or separate God and religion from civil society, shakes the edifice, disunites its component parts, saps its foundation, and prepares its ruin ; fulfilling thus that oracle of Holy Scripture, *Gens et regnum quod non servierit Tibi, peribit.*"

circle of the natural order, a right held to be so absolute, so inherent in man, that he cannot without self-degradation allow it to yield to any reason or will superior to his own, or to any revelation or authority whatsoever proceeding directly from God. This independent and repulsive attitude of nature towards Revelation and the supernatural order, is what constitutes the heresy of *naturalism*, the term by which it is designated both by the sect which professes this impious doctrine, and by the Church which condemns it.

The prelate traces back the origin of this doctrine to the sin of Lucifer, which was an act of rebellion against the supernatural order established by God. The Eternal Word assumed not the angelic nature, but the human ; and, as subsisting in this nature, He was proposed to the adoration, not only of men, but of angels also : "*Cum iterum introducit primogenitum suum in orbem terre, dicit, Et adorent eum omnes angeli ejus.*" Placed thus in the midst between the visible and the invisible worlds, Christ was constituted the fountain of life and of grace to the whole universe ; the Mediator, the Saviour, and the Enlightener of all which in its nature was either above or beneath His Sacred Humanity. Satan shuddered at the idea of having to prostrate himself before a nature inferior to his own, and to recognize in it the source of every gift of grace and of glory. Esteeming that his native dignity was thereby wounded, he intrenched himself within the rights and exigencies of the natural order. He would neither adore in a man the Divine Majesty, nor receive in himself any increase of splendour or of happiness flowing from the Deified Humanity. To the mystery of the Incarnation he objected creation ; to the free act of God he opposed his own personal right ; against the standard of grace he set up the banner of nature.

It is in this manner that many of the Fathers and Doctors explain the sin of Satan ; but, even independently of this opinion, it is certain, as S. Thomas teaches, that the sin of this evil spirit was the placing his ultimate end in what he could attain by his sole natural powers, or in desiring to arrive at supernatural beatitude by the strength of his natural faculties without the help of grace.

Here, then, is the origin of this pretended modern spirit. Naturalism is as old as the devil, and under fallacious appearances draws down to perdition foolish, proud men, while it strives to seduce, if possible, even the elect. Men may be infected with it in a greater or less degree, according as they only accept consequences, or trace those consequences back to first principles. The mildest degree, containing within itself many gradations, is to be found in those who accept the intervention of Christ and His authority only in private and spiritual concerns, excluding Him from public and temporal matters. The Word, of whom S. John emphatically affirms that He was made flesh, they would, in a certain sense, hold to have taken only the spiritual element in humanity ; so that, while the Creed teaches that He descended from Heaven and became Incarnate for men—that is, for beings essentially composed of body and soul, and called to social life—they insinuate that the consequences of the Incarnation extend only to souls, apart from their corporeal shroud, or, at any rate, only to individuals, considered apart from their civil and public life. Hence a formal separation between

the duties of the Christian and of the citizen ; hence those theories which pretend to assign to the Church its proper sphere, and decide respecting its competency or incompetency ; hence that new school which arrogates to itself, with more or less show of respect, to teach and enlighten the Church on a certain set of practical questions, and the members of which account themselves sincere but independent Catholics.

The second grade of naturalism includes those who hold as a principle that the supernatural order being of supererogation, a superfluity, as it were, it is, of course, optional for men to belong to it or not, as they please ; while the order of nature subsisting in its integrity and perfection, with its truths, precepts, and sanctions, always presents to the reasonable creature an end adapted to pure nature and adequate means to attain it. For these men, the question of religion is one merely of taste and choice. The State, then, is only bound to secure to citizens belonging to any form of worship, liberty to follow it ; while its own office and duty is to exercise the priesthood of the natural order and to establish national education, including all instruction, literary, historical, philosophical, and moral—in fine, all social legislation—upon neutral or common ground, and thus solve all the problems of human life and public government, without any reference to Revelation.

These two degrees may be said to constitute moderate naturalism, which rejects the consequences of the supernatural order, but does not directly assail it in itself. Yet error cannot stop midway ; it must run its course. Grant that the intervention of God in the order of nature and of reason is both possible and real, and how is it conceivable that its consequences should not be obligatory for society as well as individuals ? To admit the fact is virtually to accept the supernatural law. Rationalistic deism, then, inexorably rejects the supernatural law. The essential conditions in which the Creator has placed the rational creature, it holds to be immutable, definitive, and unsusceptible of any modification whatsoever. A certain conservative action may be conceded to God, but with this proviso, that the inalienable supremacy of reason and the autonomy of human nature shall be strictly respected ; that no preternatural or supernatural revelation shall claim man's submission ; and that there be no personal divine intervention in creation. The Incarnation, the mingling with the visible order of things of an invisible world of good and bad spirits, miracles, prophecy, all heavenly mission, all spiritual authority, all sacramental rites, are rejected by this system ; they are discarded as frauds, superstitions, poetic or legendary inventions, symbolic figures ; and if the existence of some phenomena of an apparently superior order must be admitted, it is simply as unexplained, as yet perhaps inexplicable, phenomena, but upon which the progress of science and criticism will sooner or later throw full light.

But we have not yet reached the final goal of naturalism, which stops not short of the fulness of impiety—pantheism. If there exist a God distinct from nature, the sentence by which philosophy excludes Him from all personal intervention in the order of nature and in the direction of human society is purely arbitrary, and hence may be disputed. If the Divinity and Humanity be distinct existences, in virtue of what authority shall the latter mark out a circle which the former shall not transgress ? The basis of natu-

ralism will always remain uncertain, while the divine reality and the created reality are both acknowledged. But the supernatural order will be uprooted, if once it be established that God and creation are one and the same being, and that the Divinity incloses all in its bosom, humanity, nature, the world. This is the old theme of German naturalism ; it strikes at the root of all religious belief, and proclaims nature to be God.

Of these four degrees of naturalism, it will be observed that the two first may together be classed as political naturalism ; the two last as philosophical naturalism. Political naturalism withdraws society from Revelation, the result being the separation of the State from the Church, begun in the first degree, completed in the second. Philosophical naturalism withdraws Revelation from science ; the first degree making the scientific laws of nature independent of God, the second removing God altogether. Deism and pantheism directly regard the intellect, the understanding being first infected by these errors, and next the will ; whereas the secularization of the State is directly and primarily a practical aim, the mind being corrupted by the retroactive power of logic, which cannot long permit facts and ideas, practice and theory, to remain at variance.

3.—*The Encyclical is wisely directed against political naturalism.*

Although the mind is impelled by the rigour of logic to pass on from political to philosophical naturalism, nevertheless the palpable absurdity of the latter strongly counteracts this tendency, at least in the great mass of men ; for common sense has more power with the people than discursive reasoning. The plain contradiction involved in confounding the infinite with the finite, the immutable with the mutable, the necessary with the contingent, will always act as a bar to pantheistic folly getting possession of the general mind. It must ever remain the miserable privilege of a few distorted intellects, hardened in error, which, having taken up a false principle, shrink from none of its most extravagant consequences. Deism is in a still worse position, having logic against it as well as common sense. Common sense tells us that Divine Omnipotence cannot be exhausted by any order of created things, and that the Infinite Reason of God cannot be measured by the limited intellect of man. Anybody can readily understand that God must be able, if He will, to work effects to which the forces communicated by Him to nature are not adequate, and to manifest truths which the weak light of the created intellect could not discover. Who shall presume to give laws to God, and decide how He shall deal with His creatures ? If any one be still resolved, against all reason, to deny to the Deity both these powers, then strict logic will compel Him to identify nature with God, and the human reason with the Divine. Deism accordingly finds no acceptance except in ordinary minds ; which in their aberrations from truth stop half-way, alike incapable either of returning to the rectitude of good common sense, or of following up to its utmost consequences the erroneous principle they have adopted.

But it is otherwise with political naturalism. To such minds as take a

greater interest in practical than in speculative questions, it presents a sufficient halting-place in the distinction which it draws between the will and the intellect, and between the practical and theoretical orders. While thus escaping from the too close pressure of logic, it meets at the same time with powerful support in corrupt human nature, always unwilling to submit to authority. Hence, as Mgr. Pie observes, the majority embrace that more or less specious and more or less moderate naturalism of which we spoke in the first instance. Pride is sufficiently satisfied, and the other passions meet with no irritating contradiction. Thanks to the part left to God and to moral ideas, a guarantee of order and tranquillity is preserved, a point by no means indifferent to minds of a positive and conservative character; while they escape altogether, or in great measure, from the humiliating and inconvenient tutelage which Revelation imposes, and, above all, from the yoke of an authority interpretative of that Revelation, which is the main object.

As a wise physician, then, the Supreme Pontiff has directed his care to the most dangerous and most prevalent disease, commencing in his Encyclical by condemning this very political naturalism, viz., the separation of the State from the Church, with its immediate inference, absolute liberty of conscience, and the public profession of error. "You know well, venerable brothers, that at this time not a few are to be found who, applying to civil society the impious and absurd system of *naturalism*, as it is called, dare to teach that the perfection (*optimam rationem*) of public society and civil progress requires that human society should be constituted and governed without any regard to religion, as if it did not exist, or, at least, without making any distinction between the true religion and false religions." These are the words of our Holy Father, Pius IX.

Be it observed, however, that we must carefully distinguish between the principle viewed in itself, and the practical application relatively to particular circumstances, or, as has been said upon another occasion, between the thesis and the hypothesis. The Holy Father does not here condemn a State which may be under the hard necessity of tolerating and giving liberty to heterodox forms of worship, conceding to all, whether Catholics or non-Catholics, equal rights, and the freedom publicly to profess their religion; and this in consideration of the general discordance of belief, the result of a schism now become inveterate. A society in this abnormal state as regards Revelation, requires an adaptation of the government and of the laws to its sickly condition, whereby greater evils are avoided and its members are at least enabled to live peaceably together. What the Holy Father reprobates is the maxim that such a system is in itself the most excellent and the most conformable with true progress; for if so, this mode of government ought to be adopted, not merely in the above-mentioned cases, but universally, even where the nation is composed wholly, or almost wholly, of Catholics. The Papal Encyclical condemns this proposition as the pestiferous fruit of the impious and absurd principle of political naturalism. With how much reason, we proceed briefly to notice.

4.—*The evil and mischief of political naturalism.*

In order to understand the evil of political naturalism, it would suffice to consider that, separating as it does the Church from the State, it deprives human society of the benefits of Redemption. Christ, having repaired human nature, sent His apostles to restore people and nations, binding them together in the unity of the Church, and subjecting them to its supernatural influences. Thus was human society in all its constitutive parts established on a secure basis, and raised to a sublimer condition. Matrimony was exalted into a sacrament; conjugal love into an image of the love subsisting between Christ and His Church; paternity promoted to the sacred office of co-operating with God in the multiplication of the elect, and their education for heavenly glory. The public laws, grounded on evangelical principles, were prevented from degenerating into instruments of unjust oppression, and their execution was rendered more acceptable by their conformity with the divine precepts and by the addition of a divine sanction. For rulers no longer appearing as men domineering over men, but as God's vicegerents in temporal matters, the obedience of subjects was no longer a humiliating submission yielded to an equal, but a becoming reverence paid to God Himself in His earthly representatives. Now the tie being dissolved which unites the State to the Church, and everything having thus relapsed into a purely natural condition, all these priceless advantages are forfeited: the individual, the family, the State, are thrown back on their own unassisted powers; and what was the value of these simple native powers the horrible corruption of pagan society sufficiently testified. For the individual, naturalism is the certain road to hell. Deprived of the light and the grace of which Christ is the source and dispenser, he neither possesses nor can practise those supernatural virtues, nor acquire those merits, which alone can secure him future blessedness. As for society, in rejecting the glorious yoke of Him to whom the Heavenly Father gave the nations as His inheritance, it becomes the prey of all the ambitions, cupidities, and caprices of its masters of a day; it oscillates incessantly between rebellion and servitude, licence and tyranny, and before long loses, along with that honour and freedom which Christianity confers, every other honour and every other liberty.

But this separation is not pernicious only, it is illogical. If the body be for the soul, if the present life be subordinated to a future life, how utterly unreasonable it is to attempt to sever and deprive of all mutual regard those authorities which respectively preside over these two human elements, the spiritual and the temporal. Can the means preserve its character of means, disjoined from the end? Now earthly happiness, over which the State watches, is only a means as regards heavenly felicity, which is the end to which the Church directs and guides us. How separate what nature and God have united? Will recourse be had to converting the means into the end, and earthly felicity be sought simply for its own sake? To what a condition will human life be thus degraded! What disorder will be introduced into the world! A transitory existence, disconnected from its eternal destinies, has no longer any value for man. It differs not from that of the dog or the

ox ; if it be not even inferior, since what in them is simply a negation, in man would become a privation.

When God laid the first foundation of human society in the family, He pronounced these emphatic words : " It is not good for man to be alone ; let us make him a help like unto himself." Here we have the idea and scope of all human society, whether domestic or civil : a help for man, conformable to his nature. But can any one be a help to another, unless he aid him to attain his proper end ? And what is the end of man endowed with an immortal soul, if not the attainment of eternal salvation ? If society, then, derogate not from its true conception, it cannot be separated from that order which embraces the true end of its associated members, eternal salvation, to lead men to which is the office of the Church ; in other words, society cannot logically be separated from the Church. Neither does it avail to urge that such separation does not hinder men in their individual capacity from being guided by the Church. For in the first place, this plea does not touch our argument, by which we prove that society ceases to be a help to man when it ceases to assist him to attain his ultimate end. In the second place, this separation snaps the tie which binds the present to the future life, and introduces an irrational dualism between what is to render man happy and what is to render society happy ; as if society were anything else than a concordant aggregation of men : "*Non aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo,*" says S. Augustine, "*cum aliud civitas non sit quam concors hominum multitudo.*"* Finally, this separation divides the unity of the human person, and places man in the dilemma of a contradiction between his duties as a Catholic and as a citizen ; for nothing is more probable in a State separated from the Church, than that the civil laws shall clash more or less frequently with the ecclesiastical laws, and sometimes even with the divine. And when this happens, what are individuals to do ? Shall they despise the civil laws, and thus incur the anger and draw down on themselves the chastisement of their earthly governors ? or shall they transgress the Church's laws, and thus fall under the displeasure of the King of Heaven, and lose their souls eternally ? Nothing, of course, is plainer than that it is their duty to follow the maxim which St. Peter first laid down, and "obey God rather than men." But is that an excellent kind of government, and one conformable to civil progress, which places citizens in such straits, so as to be compelled to sacrifice position, liberty, and possibly life itself, in order not to betray conscience ? And yet the promoters of so absurd a system dare to call themselves the defenders of liberty of conscience !

But apart from all these considerations, one reason alone would be abundantly sufficient to stamp this system of separation with absurdity, that the human race is thereby placed outside the order appointed by Divine Providence. In creating the world, God did not establish two parallel orders, one natural the other supernatural ; but He established one order composed of two : nature exalted by grace, or grace vivifying nature. He has not confounded these orders ; He has co-ordinated them. The type is one, the

* Epist. 155.

moving principle is one, and the ultimate end of God's creation is one : it is Christ. "*Ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis.*" Christ is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. All the rest is in order to Him. The scope of human existence is to form the mystical body of this Christ, this Head of the elect, this everlasting Priest, this King of the eternal kingdom and of the society of those who shall glorify God to all eternity. This being so, how is it possible to withdraw civil society from the supernatural order ; which, in fact, is to withdraw man himself, for society is only man multiplied by his relation with his fellow-men ? Is not this to take him out of the divine system, and to set aside in his regard the design of the Supreme Architect of nature ? Man, whether individually or collectively, becomes by this process an unnatural being, and like a planet thrown out of its orbit, and removed beyond the sun's attraction. When man and society thus break loose from the attracting influence of the Eternal Sun, whither can they tend but to ruin and perdition ?

Separated from Christ and stripped of Christ, human nature becomes what the Scripture emphatically designates as the world ; that world to which Christ does not belong, for which He does not pray ; that world upon which He has pronounced Woe ; that world of which the devil is the prince and head, and whose wisdom is so utterly inimical to God, that the man who would be its friend makes himself *ipso facto* God's enemy ; that world which, as it would not recognize Christ the Saviour, shall be ignored by Christ the Judge, and shall hear the tremendous sentence, "I know you not ;" that world, in fine, whose broad way ends in Hell. As long as this present life endures, the work of grace, and, consequently, the Church's work, is to withdraw creatures from this state of worldliness, restoring them to Christ, and through Christ to their destined blessedness. Both pursue this work with a perseverance which nothing can arrest, with a love which nothing can disconcert. But if nature continues rebellious against all the efforts of grace and of the Church, if it will not permit itself to be enlightened, enfranchised, redeemed, restored, by their supernatural action—if it persists in remaining worldly, profane, earthly—this attitude alone, independent of any other offence, makes it fall under the divine displeasure and condemnation. For looking at it in its present state, and notwithstanding the still essential goodness of its elements, nature is immersed in sin. Talk what you will of the rights of man, there are two at least which you must never forget : man brings them with him into the world : death and hell are his due. It is through Jesus Christ alone that he can acquire a right to the resurrection and to eternal beatitude. As for reconstituting man out of Jesus Christ in an order of pure nature, with a purely natural end and a right to natural felicity, all the efforts of naturalism will never accomplish this. The primitive design of Omnipotence will never be changed ; to the sin of his origin the natural man can indeed add actual and personal sin : shutting his ears to Revelation and his heart to divine grace, he can make himself guilty of the greatest of sins, the sin of unbelief. And then by a just judgment of God, as he refused to understand the high rank to which he was called, so shall he degrade himself to the condition of the irrational animals and in many ways become like to them. It is of these men that the Apostle S. Jude has spoken : blasphemers

of supernatural things, of which they are ignorant and remain wilfully ignorant, they corrupt themselves in those natural things which they know by animal instinct, rather than by the light of reason : clouds without water, the sport of the winds, the winds of opinion and the tempests of passion ; trees of the autumn, which put forth flowers, but will never bear fruit ; trees twice dead, dead to the life of faith, dead to the life of reason ; trees plucked up by the root and destined for the fire ; wandering stars, to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever. There is, then, no refuge for nature out of Jesus Christ. We must perforce make our choice, as said the martyr Ignatius, between the everlasting wrath of God in the next life, and His grace in the present life : "*Unum igitur e duobus : aut futura timenda est ira, aut presens diligenda gratia.*"

Notices of Books.

The Last Illness of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. By JOHN MORRIS,
Canon Penitentiary of Westminster. London : Burns, Lambert, & Oates.

WE are greatly indebted to Canon Morris, for the light his affectionate little book throws on the inward character of our late pastor. No one could know Cardinal Wiseman's life who has not studied his death. In the sermon preached at his solemn requiem, his successor in the archiepiscopal see had told us that his true greatness "was not upon his outward form like his pontifical array, but deep in the soul, hard to reach, and truly known to few," and that "the true grandeur of his character was the most concealed."

The illustrations of patience, sweetness, humility, and fortitude of his last illness, fill up the sketch made by the present archbishop.

The harmony between the inner life and the ritual of the Church also wonderfully appears in his last hours. How true to nature and how abounding in grace must the acts of that ritual be, when their fitness can be proved and their expression afford strength and consolation, even in a dying hour. The intensity and earnestness of a death-bed can test but not exhaust their deep meaning.

The Cardinal's life was spirit and truth ; his death was the same. His habitual introspection made him say, "I do not wish any one to read to me when I am dying, but I had rather be left to my own meditations." Still he asked for the words of the Church. "I want to have everything the Church gives me, down to the holy water. Do not leave out anything. I want everything."

On being removed downstairs to the drawing-room, he said, "Leave the chapel-door open, that I may look in as I pass, for perhaps I shall not see it again." Afterwards he spoke of how he had enjoyed that short visit—"my Madonna and my relics, and all lit up too." Contemplation and inward acts of love give life and significance to these visible objects ; and whenever such objects are mentioned, the interior life which animated them is presumed. Self-examination, frequent confession, habitual mental prayer, recollection of the presence of God, and spiritual communion with our divine Lord in the blessed Sacrament, if not often spoken of, are taken for granted in a life like his.

No wonder, then, that he never seemed more at home than when "hemmed in by children : " since he so perfectly fulfilled the words of S. Paul, "*malitia parvuli, sensibus autem perfecti.*"

The simplicity of his last hours was the natural outpouring of the heart of a little child, the type of a perfect Christian.

Remarks on the Encyclical of December 8, 1864. By the BISHOP OF CLIFTON.
London : Burns & Co.

AS these remarks were originally published in a Lent Pastoral, criticism is out of our province. But we may be allowed to cite the bishop's authority, on the true interpretation of those propositions in the Syllabus which concerns liberty of worships.

A godless State is as unnatural and impious as a godless man or a godless family. If, then, religion is a duty of the State, and if the Church is, by God's ordinance, the sole depositary of all true religion, there necessarily arises a relationship between these two powers.

It becomes a duty of the State to recognise the Church, to acknowledge her authority, to respect her rights, to protect and to uphold her. To say, as some do, that the best state of society is that in which the Church is not recognised by the civil power, is to affirm—either that the Church is not the divinely appointed guardian of religion, or that the state has no duties towards God. Such doctrine cannot but meet with the most emphatic condemnation of the Church and of its supreme Pastor. But whilst the Holy Father recalls to the minds of men that the harmonious action of Church and State is a blessing to society, and condemns those who seek to destroy it where it exists ; whilst he denounces *the ravings* of those who say that in all well-regulated societies the law ought to proclaim that each man is free—not only privately, but publicly—to teach, write, and act as he pleases in all religious matters, without interference of any kind from any authority, ecclesiastical or civil ; whilst he recalls the words of his predecessor, S. Celestin, that “the Catholic faith is the foundation which gives stability to kingdoms,” and in the words of another Pope, S. Innocent I., reminds men that “the kingly power was instituted not only for worldly government, but chiefly for the protection of the Church,”—he does not thereby teach, as detractors have sought to make believe, that *the Gospel is to be propagated by the sword, that all toleration is bad*, or that those governments which exercise toleration are acting contrary to the principles of the Church.

It is the duty of the State to uphold and protect the Church ; *but the mode of fulfilling this duty must, like all such duties, depend, in great measure, upon the nature of the society that has to be governed.* When our Saxon forefathers were converted from heathenism to the faith, conversion began in most instances with the kings, and descended to their subjects. They were Christian princes presiding over heathen populations. Never was there, perhaps, a race of kings under whose rule the principle of union of Church and State was more fully, more successfully carried out. They were the first founders of that wonderful constitution under which we live, and which, after so many ages and so many vicissitudes, still bears uneffaced the marks of its Catholic origin. Our Saxon kings not only aided and protected the Church, but the triumph of religion under that protection was complete : the Anglo-Saxons became a most Catholic nation. Yet it was not by violence that this change was effected. Venerable Bede thus relates the conversion of the men of Kent : “When King Ethelbert believed and was baptised, great numbers began daily to flock together to hear the Word, and, forsaking their heathen rites, to associate themselves, by believing, to the unity of the Church of Christ. Whose faith and conversion the king so far encouraged, as that he compelled none to embrace Christianity, but only showed more affection to the believers, as to his fellow-citizens in the heavenly kingdom. For he had learnt from his instructors and leaders to salvation that the service of

Christ ought to be voluntary, not the effect of compulsion" (Bede, Hist. i. 26). In like manner were the other Saxon kingdoms brought to the faith through the example of their princes, and the encouragement they gave to religion.

But if Anglo-Saxon kings presided at first over pagan populations, and by their wise support of the Church led their subjects to embrace the true faith, there are other rulers who preside over populations professing various religions, and whose duty it equally is to support the true faith. As regards these, our Blessed Lord Himself has pointed out to us the right course to be pursued, in the parable of the good seed and the cockle which had grown up together in the same field. To the inquiry of the servants concerning the cockle, "Wilt thou that we go and gather it up?" the master of the field replied, "No; lest, perhaps, gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it" (Matt. xiii. 28, 29): whence we learn that *toleration under such circumstances is commendable*, not because all religions are equally good, any more than wheat and cockle are of the same value, but *because a contrary course is far more apt to damage the interests of truth than to promote them*.

It is different, again, in countries where governments and people alike belong to the true Church; for it is then the duty of the State to prevent strangers from introducing error where it exists not. It is no longer the question of allowing wheat and cockle to thrive till harvest-time, after they have once grown up in the same field—it is a question of allowing cockle to be sown where only wheat has grown before. This is the work of an enemy, and it is the duty of the State to guard against it. Hence, though strangers frequenting Catholic countries are laudably allowed themselves to practise their own religion, the Pope justly condemns the doctrine of those who say, that in such countries it is laudable to allow to immigrants the *public exercise* every man of his own religion (prop. 78). And the Holy Father further shows the reason why such conduct is not laudable, viz., because the public practice of false worship, and the public manifestation of false opinions, tends to corrupt the minds and morals of men, and leads to *indifferentism* (prop. 79).

Cas de Conscience sur les Libertés Publiques. Par Mgr. PARISIS, Evêque d'Arras. Deuxième édition. Paris : Lecoffre.

HERE is another valuable fruit of the recent Encyclical: the illustrious prelate has been induced to give the second edition of a work which had been long out of print, with various alterations adapting it to the present circumstances of European society. A few extracts will clearly exhibit Mgr. Parisi's general doctrine:—

"A Catholic Christian cannot, without contradicting the formal and *obligatory* instruction of the Holy See, regard the civil liberty of worship as a good in itself; and still less as a better; as a progress in good" (p. 15).

"The Church condemns in principle that which she sometimes tolerates in fact. . . . When she tolerates, or even approves (by the oath which she permits), constitutions which consecrate liberty of worship, it is because she supposes that there have been reasons of state sufficient to render them legitimate. But none the less she preserves her doctrine intact" (p. 29).

The bishop justly lays great stress, in his argument, on the fact of the Church permitting Catholics under many circumstances to promise by oath

the maintenance of "religious liberty" for existing Protestant sects. She would not do this, he truly argues, if such concession were in itself evil. Still

"Whatever may be men's opinion on what are called the principles of '89, no one can deny that the essential change which then occurred was to place civil laws and governments outside of every supernatural idea and influence : that is to say, to exchange a society which had been based for fourteen centuries on the absolute dogmata and the complete morality of Catholicism, for a society which had no other foundation, than the deceitful light of reason, and certain vague precepts of the natural law" (p. 32).

The bishop (p. 19) quotes the statement of various theologians, that temporal good, and not spiritual, is the immediate and characteristic end of civil society. He does not himself misunderstand this statement, or draw from it any erroneous inference ; yet we wish he had so far enlarged on the subject, as to prevent the possibility of others doing so. We would refer our readers to some remarks in this REVIEW. See DUBLIN REVIEW of July, 1863, pp. 106-110.

There is an important chapter on the old French University question, and on the well-known and long-continued ecclesiastical movement, for emancipation from the yoke of that most grievous monopoly. "Liberal Catholics" have been fond of contending, that this movement proceeded throughout on the very principle which (until the recent Encyclical) they have so prominently maintained. But Mgr. Parisis shows the contrary. The movement in question was never understood by its chief supporters as implying, that the civil liberty of heretical instruction is in *itself* and *absolutely* a good : but only that under certain circumstances it may be the best practicable alternative : as, e. g., when it is a necessary condition for the Church's obtaining her due liberty of education. We do not, however, understand the bishop to deny (and if he did, we certainly could not follow him) that such liberty should be granted, even independently of the reason mentioned, in the case of hereditary and long-established sects.

The volume closes with an admirable discussion on "Catholic journalism."

Discours sur la Nature, la Cause, et le Remède, du Mal actuel. Prononcé à Rome par Mgr. l'Evêque D'AQUILA dans la séance de clôture de l'Académie de la Religion Catholique, le 30 Septembre, 1864. Bahtout : Paris.

THIS essay reopens a question which will not very soon, we think, be finally closed ; viz., on the place held in modern education by the heathen classics.

The essential foundation of the bishop's argument must be admitted as true, by all Catholic thinkers not totally destitute of candour ; whatever difference of opinion there may be on his conclusion. Society, he says, is now alienated in a far greater degree from Catholic Christianity, than it has been at any previous period since Constantine submitted to the Church. "Faith assailed by so many attacks loses daily its influence over the Christian multitudes" (p. 13).

"Literature and art are separated more and more from Christian ideas ; history drops all allusion to the intervention of Providence ; natural morality and probity are exalted to the disparagement of the evangelical prescriptions ; politics and social science make abstraction of the facts [and principles] declared by revelation. . . . This principle of separation insinuates itself little by little even into Christian families, and into all the domestic and civil relations of Catholic countries. Thence it results that *religion gradually withdraws itself from the practices, habits, language, both public and private, of baptized nations*" (p. 14).

Under these miserable circumstances, since there is no longer (p. 56) "a Christian atmosphere" diffused throughout society, inbuing the mind unconsciously with Catholic doctrine and principle—but emphatically the very reverse—it is far more necessary than at any earlier period, to introduce prominently a Catholic element into the education of every class. "It is no longer sufficient to make young people learn a little catechism by heart, and give them, as it were, a tincture of religion which is too speedily effaced. There is need of a *religious instruction, solid, extended, substantial* ; capable of making a profound impression on the mind and heart of youth, of protecting them against the numerous and inevitable assaults of unbelief, and of developing vigorously within them the Christian sentiment" (p. 57).

So far, we really cannot understand the existence of a second opinion, among sincere and thoughtful Catholics. But the Bishop is confident that this end cannot be achieved, without giving a far lower place to heathen classics than that now commonly assigned them. On this we hold our opinion *in suspense*. What we earnestly entreat of those who are for keeping heathen literature in its present pre-eminence is, that they will steadily contemplate the great object before us—the object of saturating the youthful mind with Christian doctrine and principle ; and that they will express in detail their own programme for accomplishing this object. We are not aware that any of them have yet attempted this.

The Bishop further holds strongly (p. 34, *et seq.*) that the "renaissance" has been the one general cause of Protestantism, Voltaireanism, Revolutionism, Indifferentism. It may have been so : we have no affection whatever for the "renaissance : " but it is most important to point out, that this is really an irrelevant issue ; and that those who may differ from the Bishop ever so strongly on this head, have no right, merely on that account, to reject his conclusion.

Pius IX., as the author points out (p. 67), in addressing the French bishops after the Gaunie controversy, exhorted that seminarists should learn elegance of diction and writing, as well from works of the fathers as from heathen authors.* The Bishop himself, "and many other bishops," have acted for ten years in their seminaries on this prescription ; and he "gives his word as bishop" (p. 63) that even literature and Latinity have gained greatly by the change.

* The author unintentionally exaggerates the drift of this decision, by applying it generally to "schools ; " whereas the Holy Father was speaking exclusively of clerical seminaries.

Extravagant things have been said and done by earnest opponents of heathen literature: let such extravagances, then, be avoided for the future. But there may nevertheless be a certain amount of truth at the bottom of their movement; and we think that a thorough sifting of the question will, sooner or later, become inevitable.

Tractatus de Ecclesiâ Christi. Auctore Patricio Murray. Vol. iii., fasc. 1.
Dublin: M'Glashan.

WE have received with much satisfaction Dr. Murray's new instalment. It is most acceptable to be in contact with a writer, so unexceptionably orthodox and devotedly loyal to the Holy See; so profoundly versed in ecclesiastical learning; so careful and candid in mastering the arguments and views of an opponent; so logical and consecutive in argument; so clear in thought and diction.

He tells us (p. 83) that it has throughout been the plan of his present treatise, to dwell at length on the points at issue with Protestants, but to touch on other matters with far greater brevity. As regards Ireland, where able men are still found clinging to dogmatic Protestantism, this method is no doubt better; but we think that for English readers the very opposite course would have been more desirable. Dr. Murray however writes, of course, for Ireland rather than for England.

The first disputation of the new fasciculus concludes the polemical part of the treatise. It has the same characteristics with the earlier portions. The ablest Protestant controversialists have been diligently searched, and their arguments exhibited with signal impartiality and candour. The whole reasoning is simply unanswerable.

The next disputation (p. 83) is on the Church in her capacity of ruler. From causes impossible to control, it is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the treatise. In fact, the question cannot really be discussed without entering carefully into the relations between Church and State. Take one instance out of several. "The Church" (p. 93) "possesses the power of compelling her subjects to observe her laws and judgments *by force and external punishments.*" By such punishments only, as excommunication, interdict, suspension, &c., &c.? or also by temporal punishments? In his argument (pp. 103, 104) Dr. Murray gives no answer to this question: nor indeed could he give one, without considering at length the power conferred by God on the Church, of commanding the service of the secular arm. But such a subject cannot be treated *briefly*; and the author's plan binds him to a brief treatment of these later topics.

His next disputation (p. 145) is on the "subject" of the Church's authority—i.e., "on him or those who possess that authority." Far the greater part is occupied with General Councils; and we cannot express too unreserved an assent with the whole body of doctrine therein propounded. He does not consider that General Councils either constitute (of course not), or in any obvious sense "represent," the *Ecclesia Docens* (p. 153). "A council as such

is not the Church or body of bishops, but a lesser part thereof; nay, in fact, generally speaking much the lesser" (p. 163). The infallibility of General Councils, then, is not the infallibility of the *Ecclesia Docens*, but another infallibility resting on distinct grounds of its own. The *Ecclesia Docens* consists of the Pope and bishops; the ordinary and normal exercise of infallibility, is the practical instruction given day after day by the Pope to the whole Church, and by each bishop in communion with the Pope to his own diocese. When our Lord said, "Go ye and teach all nations," He did not add, "Lo, I am with you when you meet in Council;" but "Lo, I am with you *all days*, even to the end of the world." When the Council of Trent declares that the Holy Ghost imbues the Church with all truth, it does not say "when she meets in Council," but "day after day," in her everyday state of dispersion: "*Spiritu Sancto illi omnem veritatem in dies suggerente*" (Sess. 13, *procem.*).

Nevertheless, all theologians, while denying (p. 167) that Councils are absolutely necessary, are not less unanimous in declaring (p. 168) that under particular circumstances they confer the greatest benefit, and are of a certain moral necessity. Some have, indeed, thought (p. 161) that Councils are not of actually Divine origin, but only of Apostolic. The very great majority, however, with whom our author coincides, regard them as being (partially at least) of divine institution. Dr. Murray gives two reasons for this conclusion (pp. 162, 165): the former, we think, quite decisive. That Councils truly ecumenical (which term implies, of course, the Pope's confirmation) are infallible, is *de fide Catholica* (p. 182).

The following disputation—on the "object" of the Church's authority—is to our mind both the ablest and the most original of all. When we say "original," we do not mean, of course, that its teaching is new, for so it must be erroneous; but that the author has here most effectively marshalled and arranged various matters of doctrine, which had never hitherto been contemplated under one point of view; and that he has supported the received truths by a most admirable collection of arguments.

By the "object" of the Church's authority, he means the range over which her infallible authority extends. He assumes, of course, from the earlier part of his treatise, that she is infallible in those doctrines which are actually of faith; and he proceeds to the other objects of her infallibility. Firstly (p. 203)—she is infallible in determining "*Catholic truths*;" i.e., truths which she pronounces to be in such sense indissolubly bound up with the Faith, that their contradictories (if not heretical) are theologically unsound and censurable. This is the thesis which we have of late been earnestly enforcing in this REVIEW; and Dr. Murray tells us that we are supported by every approved theologian without exception (p. 240). He mentions, in fact, only three theologians as opposed to it: Holden, whose unsoundness is notorious; Chrismann, a pupil of Dr. Döllinger's; and Muratori. Our own thesis is considered by Dr. Murray to be immediately "revealed and definable as of Catholic faith" (p. 226). He gives four reasons for this conclusion, for the full exposition of which we must refer to his volume (pp. 236-240). (1) If the Church were not infallible in such determinations, she would often by her authoritative action betray the faith instead of defending it. (2.) The Church condemns

propositions, or teaches their contradictory, in her character of "magistra;" but in that character she is infallible. (3.) She puts forth these lesser censures with the same formality and unhesitating confidence, with which she pronounces a condemnation of heresy. (4.) Not so much as a hint is to be found in the Fathers or in the theological schools, that the Church can possibly teach anything with a fallible authority. The author proceeds to answer the various objections which have been made to his doctrine; an easy task, for they are incredibly weak.

Secondly (p. 247), he discusses the Church's infallibility in her moral judgments, general and particular. The latter case presents some difficulty, and we would refer to an admirable remark in n. 83 (p. 250).

Thirdly, in her disciplinary enactments (p. 250). It is well known that the Church is infallible in matters of universal discipline; *i. e.*, that she is not permitted to enact laws, which cannot be obeyed consistently with sound doctrine and morality.

Fourthly, on dogmatical facts (p. 256). We believe that in no previous treatise has this very momentous question been at all so completely treated. Dr. Murray gives the best definition we have ever seen of a "dogmatical fact," and enumerates successively the following different instances:—(1.) That such or such a Pontiff—say Gregory XVI.—was truly Pope; (2.) that such or such a Council was Ecumenical; (3.) that such or such a theological expression—say "transubstantiation"—is accurate and apposite; (4.) that such or such a book contains sound or unsound doctrine, or that it contains such or such a doctrine in particular; (5.) that such or such a system of education is safe or pernicious; (6.) that such or such a society—say the Freemasons—is safe or dangerous intrinsically or extrinsically; (7.) that such or such a person is really a saint [or, in other words, the Church is infallible in canonization]; (8.) that such or such a religious order is good and useful. Over all these dogmatical facts extends the Church's infallible authority.

Fifthly, our author treats on the Church's infallibility within the sphere of philosophy (p. 323); a question so important in these days of intellectual revolt. Under this head occurs a full discussion of Galileo's case (pp. 336-343), of which we hope to make much use in our own treatment of the same subject.

The disputation closes with various rules for the proper interpretation of dogmatic decisions.

We shall hail with extreme pleasure the conclusion, now so nearly at hand, of this most admirable treatise.

The Claims of the Anglican Establishment to be the Representative of the Primitive Church Tested by the History and Acts of the Council of Ephesus. A Sermon preached at S. Werburga's, Birkenhead, by Rev. T. Harper, S.J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Beuno's College, North Wales. Liverpool: Rockliff.

THE effect of this most solid and irrefragable argument is somewhat impaired, by F. Harper's profession (p. 4) that it is directed against those who maintained "the tenets, rights, ecclesiastical government and discipline, in a word, the whole individuality" of the Establishment, as finding "their exact parallel" in "the Catholic Church as she was in those early times when she gathered together her first four Ecumenical Councils." This insane allegation may be made by a foolish and unlearned writer like Dean Hook, or by an unscrupulous sophist like Mr. Palmer; but certainly by no one with whom it is worth while to controvert. The Tractarian argument, as upheld by those who can possibly be mistaken for reasonable men, runs somewhat as follows:—

"Whatever the Establishment may be—were it as bad as any Roman controversialist maintains—I cannot submit to the Roman Church till I am prepared to accept all Roman doctrine. But I cannot accept this; for it is inconsistent with Catholic doctrine, as professed, *e.g.*, in the fifth century. At that period, no doubt, the Pope had a certain primacy of honour, in virtue of which he or his legates presided at an Ecumenical Council: but in doctrinal matters not only the bishops were *not* absolutely and unreservedly subject to his authority; but, on the contrary, both he and they recognized a legitimate superior—viz., an Ecumenical Council."

This notion is by no means uncommon among those who obtain their facts at second-hand. F. Harper, in translating certain contemporary documents, has supplied ample materials for its total overthrow. Is it, indeed, true that in doctrine a bishop was not unreservedly subject to the Pope's authority? Hear the Pope's language, not indeed to an ordinary bishop, but to the greatest patriarch in all Christendom except himself. The whole letter should be carefully studied (pp. 38—45); but let this be taken as a sample:—

We are indeed—[i.e., I, Pope Celestine, am indeed]—*patient beyond measure in waiting for the amendment of bishops*; but when we have consulted their welfare by preliminary correction, then, if they abuse our salutary warnings, necessity compels us to ratify the sentence of condemnation. This, however, after you have retracted your wicked doctrine, shall be the full test of your amendment, if all those be recalled into the Church, who have evidently been banished for the sake of Christ, Her Head. Let them all be recalled. Unless this be done, he shall be cast out, who cast them out; especially as those are in our communion, against whom that one set his face.

To the clergy also of the Church of Constantinople, and to all who bear the Christian name, we have sent despatches, such as the occasion required; so that if you obstinately persist in your perverse reasoning, and teach not the doctrine which our brother Cyril teaches with us, they may know that you are cut off from our fellowship, with whom you can have no communion; that

they may learn, moreover, and be cautioned henceforth by example, how to provide for their souls by a ripened and well-tempered judgment.

Know then for certain, that this is our sentence, &c., &c.

Again, does the Pope really look up to an episcopal council as possessing any kind of authority over him? On the contrary, he addresses the prelates assembled at Ephesus as a father might address his children. His letter to them concludes thus :—

As I have, then, thus briefly exhorted you (for like the Apostle, I announce the law to those who know it, and “I speak wisdom among the perfect”) to maintain the Catholic faith and the peace of the Church, [so let it be]; for so has it been ordained to those who have gone before us, to us, and to those who are to come after us, “praying for” and preserving “those things that are for the peace of Jerusalem.”

In our solicitude we have directed our holy brothers and fellow-priests, men most approved by us and of one mind with us, Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, our priest, to be present at your deliberations, and to carry out what has been already determined by us. To all which, we doubt not, venerable brothers, but that you will yield your consent, since, as it seems to us, what we have decreed is for the safety of the Universal Church.

Never, in fact, was there a wilder delusion—more destitute of all even plausible or colourable support—than that which claims patristic authority for the superiority of a Council over a Pope. F. Harper's facts are almost to the full as subversive of the Gallican as of the Tractarian theory; and that, in any shape which it can be made to assume. It may be added that, as he most truly observes, had he made the Council of Chalcedon rather than of Ephesus his immediate subject, his facts would have been (if possible) even more overwhelmingly conclusive.

The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement. An Historical Inquiry into its Development in the Church; with an Introduction on the Principle of Theological Developments. By HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A., formerly scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Longman.

A Correspondent has forwarded to us the following criticism on a most strange assertion contained in p. 109 of this volume. The Socinians, says Mr. Oxenham, included among the benefits of Christ's Incarnation, “His revelation of the Lord's Prayer; forgetting,” he gravely adds, “that it was already in use among the Jews.” Our correspondent thus comments on this truly amazing statement :—

Does Mr. Oxenham really mean us to believe that the Jews used to repeat their “Pater Nosters,” before our blessed Lord had taught to his disciples that prayer so well called by Tertullian, “The Summary of the whole Gospel?” Such a blunder gives scandal. From mere curiosity I have been at some pains to search through a tolerably large biblical library, to discover any so bold a statement which Mr. Oxenham may have unwittingly borrowed, but

in vain. It is just one of those careless off-hand concessions to a pseudo-science, ignorantly made by a certain school of theological writers who affect to be in advance of their age, and who thereby often do far more injury to the cause of truth and devotion than an "avowedly infidel literature," in which latter, as the author himself remarks truly enough, there is "occasionally a tone of diffidence, almost of sadness."

From a hundred to a hundred and fifty years ago, when a great deal of minute philological learning, from Rabbinical and Oriental sources, was heaped together in illustration of the language of the Scriptures, it was the fashion to discover a parallel to every expression in the Bible in some Jewish or heathen fragment. Wetstein even went so far as to say of the Lord's Prayer, "*tota hæc oratio ex formulis Hebraicis concinnata est.*" Has Mr. Oxenham got hold of this at second hand, and exaggerated a previous exaggeration into a downright absurdity? For to say that even "the whole" of the Lord's Prayer can be made up from odds and ends of Hebrew formularies (all at least of very doubtful antiquity, and scattered through some twenty folio volumes) is a very different matter to saying that the prayer was "in use" before it was uttered by our blessed Lord in the Sermon on the Mount. As it is, it would not be more ludicrous if Mr. Oxenham, on discovering that part of the Hail Mary could be illustrated by verbal coincidences in the Old Testament—were to confidently warn us not to forget that the Ave Maria formed part of the private devotions of the ancient Israelites. However, even Wetstein's assertion is nowadays generally abandoned; and may be classed with the strange suggestion of Herder, that the Lord's Prayer can be derived from the Zend Avesta. Lange remarks that, "after Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Wetstein, Druscius, Vitringa, Witsius, and Surenhusius have laid under requisition every conceivable parallel passage, even from much later Jewish prayer-books, the result of their learning and industry shows only that the first two petitions of the Lord's Prayer contain what after all amounts to no more than allusions to well-known Old Testament or Messianic ideas and expressions. Besides it is quite possible that the Jews may have borrowed even these from the Lord's Prayer."

Calmet and Bengel, or more recently Kuinoel, Tholuck, Olshausen, Oosterzee, and Dean Alford, all equally refer to, and condemn as much exaggerated, the opinion as stated by Wetstein. As stated by Mr. Oxenham, of course they do not condemn it, because no one before him has been extravagant enough to allege it.

It is true that some writers—Jahn, for instance, in his "*Archæologia Biblica*," and Strauss—have repeated in other words, or referred with approval to, this statement of Wetstein; but even the latter, whose mythical theory is necessarily based on the supposed unoriginality of the whole life of Christ—miracles, dogma and all—is candid enough to allow that the selection and allocation of the petitions are entirely original, and bear the impress of that religious consciousness which Jesus possessed, and sought to impart to his followers. Again, Dr. Adam Clarke has gone so far as to introduce into his commentary an imaginary compilation, bearing indeed a general resemblance to some of the clauses of the Lord's Prayer; and he expresses himself so vaguely as to seem to imply that the prayer thus compiled was to be found *totidem verbis* in actual use among Jews. He fortunately refers to Mr. Gregory for his authority, who with all his rabbinical learning most signally fails to do more than his contemporary Lightfoot. Perhaps a blunder of Dr. Bloomfield may bear some comparison with that of Mr. Oxenham. That well-known Protestant commentator informs us that "the whole" of the Prayer, "with the exception of the clause 'as we forgive our debtors,' is, in substance, to be found in the nineteen prayers of the Jewish Liturgies." The Lord's Prayer can be extracted from that formulary known

as the Shemoneh Esreh, in about as true a sense as it can be from the seven Penitential Psalms which these prayers equal in length. They may be found in Allen's "Modern Judaism." The name of "Father," as applied to God, occurs there three or four times; the sixth petition asks for forgiveness of sins; the third contains the expression "Thou art holy, and holy is thy name, and the saints praise thee daily;" and this is about all the resemblance we can discover. The twelfth petition, on the contrary, added, it is reputed by Jewish tradition, to the original collection by Gamaliel, affords us a not uninteresting commentary on that very clause so wisely excepted by Bishop Bloomfield: "O let the slanderer have no hope—all the wicked be annihilated speedily, and all the tyrants be cut off quickly. Humble thou them quickly in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who destroyest enemies and humblest tyrants."

Now what do these parallels to the Pater Noster extracted from the Talmud, amount to after all? We will place them side by side with the corresponding clauses of the Prayer, that the reader may judge for himself:—

Our Father who art in heaven,

"Our Father who art in heaven, deal with us as thou hast promised by the Prophets."—(Maimonides in Tephilloth.)

Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come,

"Abai saith. . . that it is a tradition, 'I have not transgressed thy precepts, nor have I forgot them.' 'I have not transgressed them'—that is, by not giving thanks, and 'I have not forgot them'—that is, I have not forgot to commemorate *thy name and thy kingdom*."

Again, "that prayer in which there is not mention of the *kingdom of God*, is not a prayer."—(Babylonian Talmud tract Beracoth.)

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,

"What is the short prayer? Rabbi Eliezer saith, *Do thy will in heaven*, and give quietness of spirit to them that fear thee *beneath*."—(Bab. Berac.)

"Be strong as a lion to do the will of your Father who is in heaven."—(Pirke Aboth.)

Give us this day our daily bread,

"The necessities of thy people Israel are many, and their knowledge small, so that they know not how to disclose their necessities, let it be thy good pleasure to *give to every man what sufficeth for food*, and to every one what he wants."—(Bab. Berac.)

And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us,

(No reference is attempted here by Lightfoot, Gregory, or even Wetstein himself. Drusius quotes from Pirke Aboth, "The pious elders used to say, pardon and forgive all who vex us.")

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

"Rabbi Judah was wont thus to pray:—Let it be thy good pleasure to deliver us from impudent men and from impudence, *from an evil man and an evil chance*, from an evil neighbour, from Satan the destroyer, from a hard judgment, and from a hard adversary."—(Beracoth.)

Such passages need little comment. It is only necessary to remind the reader that the Mishna itself—which is the earliest written record of the ancient oral traditions of the Jews—was not composed until the year 190–220 A.D., and the Babylonian Talmud, from which many of the above quotations are derived, dates its completion at the very earliest, from the close of the fifth century. And if it is upon such a slender foundation that Wetstein and others build their hypothesis of the whole of the Lord's Prayer being *compiled* from extant Hebrew sources, what are we to say of the still more extraordinary inference of Mr. Oxenham, that the Prayer itself was "in use" among the Jews? The absence, however, of any parallel whatever to the fifth petition is especially to be noted, not only as a direct refutation of an ungrounded but oft-quoted assertion, but as containing in itself, as it does, the very pith of the whole Prayer. It is the one clause which, as S. Augustin has observed, was particularly singled out, enforced, and commented upon by our blessed Lord himself in the verses following the Prayer—"For if you will not forgive," &c.—it is the one petition (inseparable from its express condition "as we forgive them," &c.) most alien to the spirit of Rabbinical Judaism, and on the other hand most beautifully expressive in a single sentence of the very essence of Christian charity. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you."

If this clause alone were new to those who said "Lord teach us to pray as John taught his disciples," the Socinians would yet be far nearer the truth than Mr. Oxenham, and we should still say with S. Cyprian, "He who made us to live, taught us also to pray."

After this exposure, it will be impossible for reasonable readers to accept any one statement of Mr. Oxenham's, simply on his authority; and this is the more unfortunate, because a statement of interesting facts is the volume's one chief excellence. As a work of thought and combination, it is certainly below par. We cannot act more fairly towards Mr. Oxenham than by illustrating this criticism, firstly, from the general argument of his introduction, and secondly, from the general argument of his treatise. First, then, for the former.

In regard to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity—the Trinity, *e.g.* the Incarnation, the Real Presence, Original Sin, Divine Grace—two propositions are firmly held by every Catholic. (1.) The Apostles, having received their knowledge of these doctrines by immediate inspiration, apprehended them with immeasurably greater fullness and keenness, than are obtainable by an ordinary uninspired Catholic of that or of any later period. (2.) The Ecclesia Docens has in every age taught these doctrines truly and adequately to the Christian flock. But (3) there is another proposition, equally certain, and plain indeed on the very surface of history; viz., that the scientific analysis of dogma has been ever increasing in accuracy and fullness, through

the labour of theologians and the Church's definitions. To elaborate a theory which shall include and harmonise these three propositions, without being otherwise at variance with the Church's teaching, with reason, or with facts,—this would be to confer a great benefit on theological study. We opened Mr. Oxenham's introduction, expecting to find the attempt at least to draw out such a theory; but we were greatly disappointed. He simply ignores the two former of the three propositions; or in other words, while professing to solve a problem, he resorts in fact to the simple expedient of shirking its one difficulty.

We have said that he "ignores" these two propositions; for it would of course be far more serious to allege that he denies them. Yet we must not conceal the fact, that his language would give us much warrant for bringing against him the heavier accusation. Thus, in p. xiv. he speaks as though the Apostles knew no more of dogma than certain "facts, principles, dogmatic germs, and intimations." And in the following page he adds that "the fulness of truth was wrapped up in the apostolic tradition . . . as the results of mathematical science are involved in its axioms, or the oak is contained in the acorn." Of this language there is but one obvious meaning; viz., that the knowledge of dogma possessed by S. Peter or S. Paul was as inferior in its reach to that attainable by Mr. Oxenham or by the writer of this notice, as the size of an acorn is inferior to the size of an oak, and as the extent of mathematical axioms is inferior to the whole extent of mathematical science. But we willingly regard this as mere random and foolish talk, such as is too frequent throughout.

We must ask, however, whether it is Mr. Oxenham's disparagement of the Apostles' doctrinal knowledge, which has led him to adopt the singular plan pursued in his treatise. He professes "an historical inquiry into the development in the Church of the Catholic doctrine of the Atonement." The first step of such an inquiry, must be of course a careful examination of what the inspired writers have themselves taught on the said doctrine; without this preliminary step, the whole plan of the work is simply absurd and unmeaning. Mr. Oxenham, however, does not even attempt any such examination. Yet no one can say that Scripture is silent on the subject; for, take one inspired treatise alone—the Epistle to the Hebrews—S. Paul in that epistle dwells on the Atonement repeatedly and emphatically. To explore the whole teaching of Scripture on so vital a doctrine; to bring to its illustration on the one hand the Church's theology, and on the other hand the full resources of modern criticism; to present a definite and intelligible view of the conclusion thus obtained; this is a task essential to the author's theme, and in itself most important. But then it required careful, prolonged, and accurate thought: qualities of which no trace is visible in this volume. Mr. Oxenham accordingly—dimly conscious perhaps of his incompetence—has at all events quietly evaded the whole enterprise.

In company with this intellectual poverty, is to be found throughout a pretentiousness of tone,—a claim of superior enlightenment and exceptional impartiality,—which no one can help observing; and at which no right-minded person, when he does observe it, can help being disgusted. This sad self-exhibition culminates, perhaps, in his condescending expression of opinion,

that "the summary of S. Thomas is no mean performance." a remark which, considering the writer's age and position, will not easily be matched for impertinence and affectation.

At the same time the work shows throughout real sincerity of purpose, and occasionally much devotional feeling. Various incidental remarks, especially on devotional subjects, are original and forcible. Moreover, as we have already observed, Mr. Oxenham's collection of facts and quotations is extremely interesting, if we could only trust their accuracy; but this, unfortunately, no reasonable man can now do. If we could honestly say more than we have said in praise of his volume, we should have been glad to do so.

The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude, Virgin and Abbess of the Order of S. Benedict. By a Religious of the Order of Poor Clares, Author of "S. Francis and the Franciscans," "S. Clare," "S. Colette," &c. Burns & Lambert.

TWELVE years ago F. Faber directed the attention of persons desiring to lead lives of perfection in the world to S. Gertrude, as the type of the breadth and liberty of spirit characterizing the old Benedictine ascetics. A beautiful translation of her Prayers and Exercises has since appeared, and we feel sure that those who have been thereby taught to love her and to pray with her, will gratefully welcome the gift of her Life and Revelations in an English form, for which we have now to thank the religious of Kenmare. It has been, as we are told in the introduction, a labour of love; a humble (and we may add, a worthy) offering from the daughters of S. Francis and S. Clare to the great Order of S. Benedict, which fostered the Porziuncula under the shadow of Subiaco, and gave her first religious shelter to S. Clare. In the general arrangement of the work, and in the preparation of the valuable notes by which it is illustrated, the writer has received the assistance of the Bishop of Birmingham, F. W. Windham, and other learned members of the family of S. Benedict.

The secret of that freedom and generosity of spirit, which so specially distinguishes S. Gertrude, may be learned from the following vision of her holy sister, S. Mechtildes:—

On one occasion, as she chanted, she beheld our divine Lord seated on a high throne, around which S. Gertrude walked without turning her eyes from her Master even for a moment. At the same time, she appeared to fulfil her exterior duties with the most perfect exactness. As her holy sister mused in amazement on the vision, she heard these words: "This is an image of the life which My beloved Gertrude lives; thus does she ever walk in My presence, never relaxing in her ardent desire to know and to do what is pleasing to My heart. As soon as she has ascertained it, she executes it with care and fidelity, and then promptly passes to some other duty, seeking in her zeal always to find some new virtue to practise. Thus her whole life is a continuous chain of praise, consecrated to My honour and glory."

S. Gertrude lived, in the expressive words of the book before us, at home with her spouse. This singular simplicity, this homeliness, in the true mean-

ing of the word, is the more striking when we take into account her great intellectual gifts and acquirements. "S. Gertrude," says the reviewer of the *Gertrudensbuch von P. Maurus Wolter*, "in the most extensive sense, was a daughter of the cloister. *Officium* and *sacrificium*, the Scriptures and the Liturgy, are the two wings by which pure souls fly to God in monastic life. The Missal and the Breviary are the two fountains of liturgical devotion from which they may draw the pure waters of life. These waters and those wings were well understood and appreciated in the Middle Ages; and in the sixty thousand convents which sent up praise to God, *sicut incensum in conspectu Ejus*, during the lifetime of S. Gertrude, there was not one being who more fully grasped these two means of perfection, or turned them to greater advantage, than our Saint. Through them she became the *grosse Aebtissinn*; through them, directed by the tender, loving spirit of the Rule, she became the most perfect and striking exponent of the spirit of S. Benedict that can be found in the lives of the saints of God."

S. Gertrude's homeliness is the simplicity of Sara and of the other queenly women of the Old Law. Now she *sits still in the house*, at the feet of Jesus, or busies herself in waiting upon Him, like the sisters of Bethania; now she stands at His right hand, like the Queen, in a vesture of gold, *circumdatus varietate*. Her Prayers and Exercises are full of the divine poetry of the Church, and of the light which falls from it on the hidden glories of Holy Scripture. To her the Breviary was no dead letter, no merely mechanical accompaniment of mental prayer, but like the Holy Name which it enshrines,—

In aure dulce canticum,
In ore mel mirificum,
In corde nectar coelicum.

When will modern Catholics learn that their children's time would be, at least, as profitably spent in the study of Latin, as of French, German, or Italian? It will be then no rare occurrence to meet with religious women able to read the language of the Church, and to write the language of their country, as well as the translator of the Revelations of S. Gertrude.

Vie de Madame Geoffroy, Religieuse du Sacré Cœur, décédée à Lyon en Odeur de Sainteté. Poitiers: Henri Oudin. 1854.

"**A**MID the horrors of the French Revolution," says F. Dalgairns, in the introduction to his admirable work on the Devotion to the Heart of Jesus, "the devotion to the Sacred Heart was of inestimable value in keeping up the courage of Catholics."

The little book before us is an illustration of this fact. The Mère Geoffroy is an example of one who found strength and consolation there herself, and drew the healing waters thence for others, in those terrible days, and who was divinely guided to become one of the first religious consecrated to God under that Name of pity and of power.

The parents of Susanne Geoffroy, Jean Geoffroy, and Thérèse Rufin, sprang from two ancient and honourable families in Poitou, and though at the time of her birth they were so much reduced in fortune that M. Geoffroy occupied as a farmer the old château which had belonged to his ancestors, they were highly esteemed by their neighbours for their piety and strict integrity. Susanne, who was the eldest of nine children, was early inured to care and labour, as her mother's assistant in the charge of her younger brothers and sisters; but before she had reached her tenth year she was adopted by an uncle and aunt at Poitiers, who were rich and childless.

The child's character was gay and lively. She was endowed with great powers of observation and extraordinary quickness, combined with the giddiness which is their frequent accompaniment. When she had mastered the art of reading, and had learnt her prayers and her catechism, she was provided with a writing-master; but her unconquerable inattention baffled all attempts on the part of her friends to carry her education any farther, so that she used to say that all she had cost them in the way of instruction was fifteen francs, for a few writing lessons she had taken, kneeling or jumping about the room, in the intervals of reading the fable of the *Old Rat and Her Young One*, with which she was thoroughly well acquainted. But though fond of proclaiming her own ignorance, and though she *was*, in fact, deficient in secular information, she possessed a natural refinement and cultivation which rendered her conversation singularly attractive. In the science of the Saints, notwithstanding her giddiness, she advanced at a pace which left older heads and colder hearts far behind. She had heard it said that God is pleased with sacrifices which are made for the love of Him; and she began from a very early age to act upon her knowledge of this truth. She would throw her toys into the fire; and though she afterwards regretted them, she would do the same thing over again, to see if she could now bear the trial better. Thus was grace early preparing her heart for that spirit of generosity towards God, and detachment from creatures, which was so conspicuous in her after-life.

When Susanne had completed her tenth year, she attended the parochial catechising preparatory to first Communion. Though she deeply felt the importance of the solemn act for which she was preparing, there were few weeks in which her natural vivacity and giddiness did not lead her to play some trick upon her companions. This circumstance, together with her small stature, which made her appear younger than she really was, brought upon her the mortification of being classed among the younger children, who were to wait for another year, while one of her friends, taller but younger than herself, was admitted. Greatly hurt at having been thus passed over, Susanne vehemently exclaimed, "M. le Vicaire, you have admitted — to make her first Communion. I know my catechism as well as she does; she is only ten and a half, and I am ten and three quarters." The curé, who was present, touched by the energy of the child's manner, said, "I will answer for this child; let her make her first Communion." She thanked him heartily, and inwardly resolved to leave off her childish follies. On her return home she hastened to her room to feed her two little birds. The cage was overturned and the birds gone. Susanne threw herself on her knees,

and, raising her eyes and hands to heaven, exclaimed, "My God, since I am to have the happiness of making my first Communion, I offer Thee the sacrifice of my birds."

From that moment she prepared herself for that great act, which is so often the turning-point of a life, with a fervour which left no room even to her humility to doubt that she had made a good first Communion. All the small faults of childhood disappeared before the brightness of the Divine Presence, and in the strength of that celestial bread she passed on in increasing grace and fervour to the eve of womanhood. Here she was assailed by fresh temptations, the narrative of which reminds us of a similar crisis in the life of S. Teresa. Her uncle was held in great estimation at Poitiers, and his house was frequented by all the best society in the town. Mdlle. Geoffroy was small in stature and not endowed with any remarkable share of beauty, but the sparkling vivacity of her conversation rendered her exceedingly attractive. The devil did not leave her in ignorance of these advantages, nor of how to make the most of them. She had no taste for the ordinary amusements of young people, but she liked to display her talents, and to draw a circle of admirers round her by what she used afterwards to call her *intellectual coquetry*. Many tears did she shed before God over this period of vanity, the evil of which she doubtless exaggerated to herself, God so permitting for her greater purification and humiliation; for at this very time she had, in her own words, such a horror of sin, that rather than commit the slightest offence against God, she *would have jumped out of the window*.

At this period of danger our Lord called her to a closer union with Himself by what she was accustomed to call her conversion. "Alas!" she says, "I was guilty of many faults at my uncle's, and was the cause of many in others, but God was waiting for me. When I was about twenty-one years of age, being in the church of S. Didier, I stopped before an altar where there was a picture of our Lord and S. Radegund. There it was that on a sudden this good Master spoke to my heart, and that so powerfully that in an instant I was changed into a new creature. God knew my heart, He spoke to it and I was His. I returned to the house an altered being. Several persons, seeing me take such a decided line, said that I should not be able to continue this kind of life; but I myself was sure of the contrary, because I felt it was the work of God, and that I had had no share in it."

Mdlle. Geoffroy was not mistaken, from that happy moment she entered upon a new path, and she walked in it with a firm and unfaltering step to the end. There is every reason to believe that at this time she made a vow of chastity, and resolved to consecrate herself to God in religion.

From that time for a period of seven years Susanne enjoyed a sensible union with God, uninterrupted even by the innocent amusements in which she took part to give pleasure to others. Then followed another stage in the spiritual life, in which she served our Lord to extreme old age, with equal fervour and more heroic generosity, in the absence of all consolation, and under the continual dread of the Divine judgments.

Her attraction was to a contemplative life, and to the order of S. Teresa, but she was told by her director, the holy Jesuit Drant, that God had other designs for her, and that she was to enter a society which would arise in

Germany. "I can tell you nothing farther about it, my child," said he, "than that the foundress is still playing with her dolls." P. Drant related to her at the same time the famous prediction of P. Necton of the Society of Jesus, who had detailed to him when a novice the horrors of the first French Revolution, and the events which were to follow it, ending with the assurance of a triumph of religion, hitherto unexampled upon earth, which is to be the last triumph of the Church in this world. This prophecy coincides in a remarkable way with the revelations of the Ven. Maria Taigi.

Whilst Susanne was patiently awaiting the manifestation of God's will the Revolution burst forth. "I was then living," she says, "with my uncle. I was about twenty-three, and in every respect my own mistress. My mind was full of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. The Revolution had already begun, and several priests had been obliged to fly. I moved the whole town to make public novena. Some of my friends and I sent notices into all the parishes of Poitiers, and even to the vicars-general. When the novena was finished, the order came to close the churches. We congratulated ourselves on having placed the town under the protection of the Sacred Heart, and all these events troubled us but little. Meanwhile the persecution became daily more violent, the priests and many others emigrated; we began to make little Sacred Hearts, badly enough executed, which we distributed by hundreds to those who went away. A few days before the churches were closed I was standing with three of my friends on the steps of the Cathedral. 'What do you say,' said I, 'now that they are suppressing the religious communities, suppose we form a new one?' 'Willingly,' said they, 'if you will be Superioress.' I agreed to this at once, for they were all much better than myself, and I thought there would be no great difficulty in filling the office."

The members of the new society first lived in their own houses; afterwards some of them formed themselves into a community under the direction of a concealed priest, named the Abbé Coudrin. "I think I see him now," says Madame Geoffroy, "in his little blue coat and his hair tied behind with a ribbon." The other members of the association worked at home under the protection of the Sacred Heart, carrying relief to the priests and religious who were in concealment, and that so abundantly that all the nuns in Poitiers were thus maintained until the end of the Reign of Terror.

Such was the origin of the congregation, which, under the name of the order of *Picpus*, is still carrying on its work for God. Upon its foundress soon set in a tide of persecution, not from the enemies of God, but from His friends and servants—that special trial of the saints. Her own narrative of the opposition which beset the beginning of her work often reminds us of passages in the life of S. Teresa; witness her singular faculty of winning over her ecclesiastical opponents by making her confession to them. She at last found her destined home at the age of forty-three under the shelter of the Sacred Heart, which she had loved and laboured for so long; and died at the head of the house of that congregation at Lyons, at the age of eighty-four, in 1845, as all who loved and revered her there bear testimony, in the odour of sanctity.

We should be glad to see a translation of this little book, which is full of

instruction for all who desire to serve God with perfection, whether in the world or the cloister.

William Shakespearé. By His Eminence CARDINAL WISEMAN. London : Hurst and Blackett.

WE may assume the familiar acquaintance of all our readers with this massive and splendid relic of the Cardinal's genius. Of all the work that bears his name *in perpetuam memoriam*, there is none so stamped with the far-seeing force of his thought, with the easily-worn weight of his knowledge, with the versatile play of his fancy, with the rich pomp or familiar grace of his language, as this fragment, conceived during the access of his mortal illness, and dictated during intervals of pain as it progressed. It is a proof of genius in itself to be able to take a wholly new view of such a genius as Shakespeare, around whom a whole literature of criticism and commentary has grown to the dimensions of an ordinary library ; yet this the Cardinal has done, and done with the most strikingly simple and happy effect. Certain long passages, such as that of the contrast with Newton, are, perhaps, the very richest and most polished specimens of his style ; and will hereafter be certainly called among the most exquisite examples of English eloquence in our day.

S. Martha's Home ; or, Work for Women. By EMILY BOWLES. London and Dublin : Duffy.

THIS is the work of a hand, a head, and a heart long accustomed to toil for the sinful and the suffering. It contains many useful lessons for those who are engaged in similar labours, as well as for those to whose welfare their labours are devoted.

"S. Martha's Home" is a house of charity, forming the centre of a guild consecrated to the sorrowful heart of Mary, the nature of which is thus described : "The members of the guild bound themselves chiefly to the service of the sick poor, but visited also the sick of other classes if their services or visits were desired. Being thus volunteers in the great army of charity, they were free from the restrictions and difficulties of a fixed rule, and held themselves at the disposal of the parish priest, to go wherever they were most needed for the time. Some of them were ladies, some dress-makers, or work-women, some widows of a lower class still, some young women, who had been received for this special work into the house called S. Martha's Home, where the permanent members resided. Some of the members, therefore, were wholly devoted to this service ; others only for a set portion of time, according to the circumstances of their lives ; but, whatever class of society they belonged to, or whatever their labour might be, they all did what they could for the sick. All called one another *Sister* at their meetings and in their work ; and, without affectation or restraint, were all looked upon as equal members of the guild, obeying their warden as far

as their work went, and the rules of the house when there." Under the guidance of this warden, "chosen for her long experience among the poor," we pass from one dwelling to another of those to whom her life is devoted; each scene of suffering and, alas! of sin, and withal of faith and patience perfected and triumphant amidst it all, having been evidently sketched from the life, and bearing with it its own lesson of warning or encouragement. The darkest and the dreariest is the *ow're true tale*, which tells how, from the houses of business (and, we may add, the laundries) where our Catholic girls earn the bread of the body by the perdition of the soul, the children who leave our schools with the light of innocence in their eyes and the grace of first communion in their hearts, "drift away farther and farther from the life of their childhood, from the traditions of their pure Irish homes, from the safeguards of their faith; and by hundreds and in droves go swiftly down the broad road of sin and degradation to the streets, to the prisons, to the hospital—death." When shall we learn the urgent need of such an association as the *Patronage* in Paris, "to retain these girls within the shelter of protection and advice, to find them suitable places, to apprentice them to safe houses, to ascertain that they approach the Sacraments and keep themselves clean from the defiling influences of London homes"?

Whether such a house as *S. Martha's Home* now exists in any of our missions we know not—that such will exist we earnestly hope—that such might exist we confidently believe, and that to the unspeakable benefit of its own inmates no less than of those for whom they would labour.

Those women whose first and chief work is at home, and whose spare hours only can be given to labours of external charity, would be greatly assisted by association with others free to devote their whole time and thoughts to this service. But the chief blessing of such a house would be to such as have a call to a life of active charity, yet have no vocation to religion, and who therefore either work single-handed, and too often at random, or are induced simply by the hope of attaining greater efficiency in labouring for the poor to seek admission into a convent; whence, having failed for lack of vocation, they carry away with them disappointment, discouragement, and (it may be) shattered nerves and broken health.

To these "scattered units" what a boon would be a "common home, with a labour worthy of life"?

The Month. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. May—June, 1865.

WE have always thought that poetry is what Dr. Newman does least well, and this is far from saying that he does it badly. The *Lyra Apostolica*, to which he was the chief contributor, owed its success to the ideas then almost new to the English mind which it supported in verse, and to the quaint and original way in which it presented them, rather than to rich colouring, choice metaphor, and consummate art. A prophet spoke, but his garb was homely, and his lips were often inharmonious. Here and there were softer strains. "Lead, Kindly Light" was one of them, and it lives in the memory of us all. In the "Dream of Gerontius," Dr. Newman dis-

cards fugitive pieces, and produces in these numbers of *The Month* a spiritual drama, in which the dying man, the assistants, the priest, the soul, and its guardian angel, with the spirits of light and darkness, are interlocutors, and rhyme is interchanged with blank verse, as the choruses are with iambic dialogue in Greek tragedy. The subtlety of thought which marks all Dr. Newman's writings is not wanting in this poem, and it seems by special intuition that the soul of Gerontius describes its condition the moment after death. He still possesses an organization, but knows not yet how to use it; he is conscious of manhood, of identity, of vast and growing powers, which by turns appal and soothe him. His angel supports and guides him amid the incipient wonders of eternity. Demons come around him, and sing together short verses, rhyming strangely, and printed in parallel columns—a jarring and truly demoniacal music. He is anxious to obtain one glimpse of the Holy One before his penance-time fairly begins. "Choirs angelical" also sing, but their theme is his approaching agony and its blessedness. He hears the voice of friends he left praying around his dying bed. He flies to the feet of Emmanuel, though warned by his angel of the consequence; but he is scorched by the exceeding glory that circles round the Crucified, acquiesces in the thought of purgatory, sighs for its painful happiness as the means of being fitted for the Redeemer's presence, and is gently resigned into the arms of the angels who move above its penal waters.

The whole is very effective, full of deep thought and developments of the doctrine of purgatory, in a pleasing rather than a stern direction. But as matter of criticism we would observe that the author appears to think in prose and then transfuse his ideas into the mould of verse. They do not flow fresh from the fountain of poetic genius. Perhaps it was hardly to be expected that he who has carried English prose to its highest perfection, who has surpassed the polished Addison, the flowing Gibbon, the sparkling Macaulay, in power and suppleness of language, in brief pointed Saxon, and in the graceful and majestic sweep of long sentences, should also excel in poetry. It is enough that his poems have not diminished his reputation, but have added to it, inasmuch, at least, as they prove the versatility of his talents.

[Among the articles in the May number of the *Month* there is a very striking essay on the Emperor Napoleon's "Vie de César,"—one of the best we have read on the best criticized book of the day.]

A May Pageant, and other Poems. By EDWARD CASWALL, of the Oratory, Birmingham; author of "Lyra Catholica," &c. London: Burns, Lambert, & Co. 1865.

FATHER CASWALL holds no mean place among the Catholic poets of our Renaissance. The "May Pageant" is a successful attempt to combine the supernatural imagery of the Faith with Nature in her homely walks and pictures of real life. It is written in that heroic metre which is best suited to narrative, and is divided into seven Cantos. The versification

is singularly mellifluous; the style clear and unpretending. The writer never essays flights he cannot reach, but moves along with grace and ease. He is a close observer of Nature, and paints with fidelity what he sees and remembers. His fancy is prolific, and though his verse is, on the whole, descriptive rather than philosophic, yet wherever reflections occur, they are just and striking. It is no small part of the poem's charm, that the scene and the subject are English. It opens with an exquisite picture of a wood on the banks of the Severn, where an aged Franciscan, who has been summoned to administer the Viaticum, arrives too late. He prays for pardon if he has been in fault, and falling into deep sleep, is favoured with a vision that lasts till nightfall, and represents under the figure of a jubilant procession the recovery of England to the ancient Faith. He himself marches in the wake of this heavenly pageant, in virtue of his bearing the Holy One on his breast. The three Chaldean children are there, singing as in an orb of fire. There is S. Augustin and S. Philip, there SS. Kenelm, Anselm, Ninian, and all our saints of old renown. They bear the diadem of the Queen of Heaven, and hold the skirts of her starry robe. They move, all radiance and perfume, through the land, from Hexham's fane, by Selby, Beverley, Grantham, and Croyland, to Glastonbury and Tintern. The wilderness blossoms at their approach, lawns and parterres carpet their way. England's Royal Confessor kneels at Mary's feet, and implores her to take again the sceptre of our isle. The Renaissance is completed amid hosannas,—

“And from her knees

Uprising amidst heavenly harmonies,
Our Lady to her amethystine throne
Amidst her saintly splendours passes on;
And so, with ceremonious rites complete,
Assumes, endiadem'd, her glory-seat.”

—(Page 88).

The morning breaks, and the Franciscan brothers seek everywhere for the aged priest. They find him where the Vision found him—on his knees—“lost seemingly in some deep ecstasy.” They draw near; his form is erect but his spirit has fled; and so closes this beautiful and finely finished poem.

Quarante Vérités dites à la Cour de Turin. PAR ÉTIENNE SAN POL,
Rédacteur-en-chef du *Contemporaneo* de Florence. Paris: Brunet;
Londres: Burns et Lambert.

THIS volume is the reproduction, in French, of a series of letters addressed to King Victor Emmanuel by the editor of a Tuscan journal, long distinguished for its independence and courage. They were called in Italy the Lenten Sermons of Signor San Pol; but they are rather characterised by a frolicsome liberty befitting the time of the carnival. “Is it true after all,” he says to the king in one of them, “that the Princes of the House of Savoy always were such friends of liberty and of Italy? Was Amadeus the Fifth, the Vicar General of the Emperor, who went to combat Flemish liberty

under the banners of Philip-le-Bel?—was the Regent Blanche, who opened her towns and forts to Charles VIII. when he came to invade Italy?—or Victor Amadeus II., ally of Austria, and in the course of one month first General-in-Chief for the Austrians, then for the French, then for the Austrians again?” The catalogue is pursued with considerable spirit even to our own days. In the course of his forty varieties, Signor Son Pol traverses the whole field of Italian politics, and every page is lit with shrewd sense and brusque humour, as well as true religious and political feeling.

Remarks on the Encyclical of the 8th of December, 1864 (authorized translation).

By Mgr. FELIX DUPANLOUP, Bishop of Orleans. Translated from the 32nd Paris edition (with the special approbation of the author). By W. J. M. HUTCHINSON, S.C.L., Oxon. London: George Cheek; Burns, Lambert, & Oates.

MR. HUTCHINSON'S translation of the *brochure* of the Bishop of Orleans is accurate and easy; but it is to be regretted, in justice to the subject, that he has not translated the whole pamphlet. Though in a Catholic point of view it might appear necessary only to give the bishop's comments on and explanations of the Encyclical, still in the whole argument the political questions concerning the Convention are so interwoven with the considerations pertaining to the Encyclical, that the English reader does not possess in the translation anything like a fair and complete view of Mgr. Duponloup's work. The first part of the pamphlet is, besides, in our opinion, far the ablest, most energetic, and most eloquent; while it is also the most simply unexceptionable both in doctrine and in tone. What Mr. Hutchinson has done, however, he has done well, and for his pains deserves the special approbation which he has received from the eminent author.

God and His Creatures. By the Rev. J. FURNISS, C.S.S.R. London: Richardson & Son, 1864.—All that is said below of the “Catechism made Easy,” applies with equal, not to say greater, force to “God and His Creatures.” Father Furniss's opportunities of acquiring experience in the great art of instructing both children and ignorant adults have been far more extensive than those even of hard-working town priests. It is true that being for the most part always upon the move, in his capacity of preacher of missions, he perhaps has not had equally fair chances with them of noting the continuous action of his own course of treatment for any great length of time. No one, however, can open his work at any page without being struck with the wonderful powers of illustration the author brings to bear upon every subject he handles, and with the vividness of the pictures he presents to attract and rivet the attention. Moreover, the variety of the subjects themselves renders this little manual of extreme utility to persons of all ages from the child of ten to the old man of seventy; while those who have upon them the duty of imparting instruction will find in it an assistant fully capable of easing them of by far the greater share of the burthen.

Catechism made Easy, vol. i. By the 'Rev. HENRY GIBSON. Liverpool, 1865.—The author of this very useful work has for some years been Catholic Chaplain to the Kirkdale Gaol and the Kirkdale Industrial Schools. The number of children, inmates of the industrial schools, was, on the 1st of March last, 1,213, and of that number 660 were Catholics. The religious instruction of these devolves upon the visiting priest, assisted by four pupil teachers, and an hour is devoted daily to this work. Mr. Gibson's "*Catechism made Easy*" brings with it, therefore, the *primâ facie* recommendation of issuing from the pen of an experienced man. The amount of that practical kind of wisdom which goes by the general name of *experience*, which must fall to the lot of nearly every priest in our large towns, is immense, and could each priest but make known the results of it upon any one department of his practice, something approaching perfection might almost be hoped for in the performance of those duties which depend a good deal for their success upon human tact and judgment. Unfortunately, however, the labour and time devoted to the acquirement of experience deprive them for the most part of all power to communicate it. And if our clergy are not so prolific in the way of literature as we could desire, it is rather an argument in their favour than otherwise. They have great and arduous duties ever crowding upon their hands, and have no time for anything beyond the actual labours of missionary life. But when they do contrive, perhaps even at the expense of much-needed hours of rest and recreation, to put forth for the benefit of their fellow priests or the public at large, what they have been able to gather from the numerous facts that have come under their notice, we hail their efforts with the most hearty good will, and are ever ready to do our utmost to second them. Mr. Gibson's book fulfils the expectation its title justly raises. Written by a man whose life is devoted to practice it is eminently practical and useful. And in saying this we are but echoing an opinion we have heard from some of those whose lives are spent much after the fashion of the author's, namely, in the daily instruction of the children of the poor.

CANON OAKELEY has forwarded to us successive sheets of his "*Lyra Liturgica*" (London : Burns & Co.), now approaching publication. We will notice it at length in our next number. It abounds in beautiful and touching thoughts, while its language is simple, flowing, and spontaneous.

We regret to be obliged to postpone until our next number an article upon Mr. Allies' learned and eloquent "*Formation of Christendom*," and a number of notices.